

# THE IMAGE OF GOVERNANCE

COMPILED OF THE AC-  
TES AND SENTENCES

notable, of the moste no-  
ble Emperour Alex-  
ander Seuerus,  
late transla-  
ted out

of  
Greke into Englyshe, by sy-  
Thomas Eliot knight,  
in the fauour of  
Mobyntie.



ANNO. M. D. XLI.





THE PREFACE.

TO AL THE NOBILITIE  
OF THIS FLOVRYSHYNGE ROYALME  
OF ENGLANDE, THOMAS ELYOT  
KNYGHTE DESIRETH IN-  
CREASE OF VERTUE  
AND HONOVR.



S I LATE VVAS searching among my bokes, to finde some argument, in the readinge wherof I mought recreate my spynnes, beinge almoste fatigate with the longe study abouthe the correctinge and amplia-  
tinge of my Dictionary, of Latine and Englishe, I hapned to fynde certeyne quaires of paper, which I had witten about. ix. yeres passed: wherin were con-  
tayned the actes and sentences notable, of the moste noble Emperour Alexander, for his wisedome and  
grauity called Seuerus, which boke was first witten  
in the greke tung by his secretary named Eucolpius,  
and by good chaunce was lente vnto me by a gentille  
man of Naples called Pudericus. In reading wher-  
of I was maruaylously rauished, and as it hath ben  
euer myn appetite, I wissched that it had ben publis-  
hed in such a tung, as mo men mought understande  
it. Wherfore with all diligence I endeuored my selfe  
whiles I had leysour, to translate it into englishe: all  
be it I coulde not so exactly performe myn enterprise,  
as I mought haue done, if the owner had not impo-  
tunately called for his boke, wherby I was constai-  
ned to leue some part of the wark vntanslated: which

a ii I made

THE PRACTICE

I made vp, as welle as I coulde, with somme other Autours, as wel latines as grekis, having this boke in my haunde I reineimbred, that in my boke named the Gouernour, I promised to wryte a boke of the forme of good gouernance: And so, as moch as in this boke was expreſſed of gouernance ſo perfite an pmaſe, I ſuppoſed, that I ſhuld ſufficiently diſcharge my ſelue of my pmoiſe, if I dyd nowe publiſhe this boke, whiche (except I be moche deceyued) ſhall minſter to the wyſe readars both pleaſure and pmoſite. Then diſ I eftſones perufe it, and with moze exact diligēce conforme the ſtyle therof with the phraſe of our engliſhe, deſiringe moze to make it playne to all readers, than to flouriſhe it with ouer moch eloquence. whiche boke I do dediſate vnto you noble lordis, gentil knyghtes, and other in the ſtate of honour or worship, as beinge moſte redy to be aduanced to gouernance vnder your Prince: ſo that your vertues be corespondent vnto your fortunes. Yet am I not ignorant that diuerſe there be, whiche do not thankfullly eſteine my labours, diſplayſinge my ſtudies as bayne and vnyuſeable, ſayinge in detiſion, that I haue nothing wonne thereby, but the name onely of a maker of bokes, and that I ſette the treeſ, but the printer eateth the ſruites. In dede al though diſdaine & enuy do cauſe them to ſpeke it, yet will I not deny, but that they ſaye truly: ſo, þt I wold haue emploied my ſtudy about the increaſe of my priuate commodity, whiche I haue ſpent in wriſtinge of bokes for others neceſſity, few men doubt (I ſuppoſe) that do knowe me, but that I ſhuld haue aſtayned or this tyme to haue ben moche moze welthiſ, & in reſpect of the wylde in a moze estimation. But to excuse

excuse me of faly, I will professse without arrogaunce,  
 that whan I confydence, that bunninge contynueth  
 whan somme syteth, hawinge also rynging alway in  
 myn eare, the terrible checke that the good master in  
 the gospell gaue to his ydel seruante, so; hidinge his  
 money in a clowde, and not disposisnge it for his ma-  
 sters aduantage, thosse two wordes, Serue nequam, so  
 sterid my spirtes, that it caused me to take more re-  
 gard to my last reckning, than to any riches or world-  
 ly promotion. And all though I do neither dyspute  
 nor expounde holy scripture, yet in suche warkes as  
 I haue and intend to sette forth, my poore talent shall  
 be, God willinge, in such wise bestowed, that no man-  
 nes conscience shalbe therwith offended, my boke cal-  
 led the Gouernour, instructinge men in suche vertues  
 as shalbe expedient for them, whiche shal haue authori-  
 ty in a wele publike. The Doctrinal of prncis, which  
 are but the counsapes of wyls Isocrates, inducinge  
 into noble mens wittes honest opinions. The Educa-  
 tion of chyldyn, whiche also I translated oute of the  
 wyls Plutarche, making men and women, whiche will  
 follow those rules, to be wel worthy to be fathers and  
 mothers. The litel Pasquill although he be myr and  
 playne, teachyng as well seruantes how to be faychfull  
 vnto their masters, as also masters how to be circum-  
 spet in espyng of flatetars. Semblably thoffice of a  
 good couellour, with magnanumity or good courage  
 in tyme of aduersitie, may be apparetly founden in my  
 boke called, Of the knowlge beloing to a wise man.  
 In redyng the sermon of saynt Cyprian by me transla-  
 ted, the deuout reder shal fynd no litle comfort in pla-  
 ges or calamities. The banke of Sapience is not fash-  
 ionous,

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diouse, and in little come shewith out of holy scripture  
many wise sentences. The Castel of Helth being truly  
cad, shal longe preserue men (being some phisicions ne-  
uer so angry) frō perillouse siknes. My little boke cal-  
lid the defēce of good women, not only confouđeth vil-  
lainous report, but also teachith good wiues to know  
well their dueties. My Dictionary declaringe latyne  
by englishe, by that tyme that I haue performed it,  
shall not only serue for children, as men haue excepted  
it, but also shall be commodiouse for them which per-  
chaunce be well lerned. And this present boke, whiche  
I haue named the Image of gouernaunce, shall be to all  
them which wil reade it sincerely, a very true paterne,  
wherby they may shape all their procedinges. And in  
none of these warkes I dare vndertake, a man shall  
 finde any sentence against the comandmentes of god,  
the trewe catholyke faythe, or occasion to stete men to  
wanton deuises. Wherfore I trust vnto god, myn ac-  
compt shall of hym be fauorably accepted: all though  
some ingrate persons with ille repose or mockes re-  
quite yl my labours: to whom I will only recypte this  
very fable of Esope, witten by Marimus Planudes.

**C**A good woman had an husband, who wold be ofte  
tyme's drunken, wherwith she beinge ashamed, and  
diuisinge by what meane she might cause hym to leue  
that horible vice, at the laste whan he was a slepe, she  
caried hym vnto the charnell house, wherin were put  
the bones of deade men, and leuyngh hym lyngē there,  
she made faste the doore, and departed. And whan she  
thought that he was wakynge, she takynge with her  
b̄ede and meate, retourned to the charnell house and  
knocked at the doore, her housband sayntly asked who  
knocked

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knocked there, the good woman answered, I whiche haue brought meat with me for the dead men, peace sayd her hus bande, thou increasest my payne in speakeinge of meat, bringe me some drinke I beseeche the. That herring the good woman, alas sayd she that euer I was borne, for this vyce gotten by custome, my housbande hath made it a naturall habyte, which will never forsake hym.

**C**hristian fable nedeth no declaration: for every man may perceyue what it meneth. Moreover many being ignorant of good letters, do vniuersally reprooue all them that be studious in lerninge, alleginge this comune proouerbe, The grettest clarkes be not the wised men: affirming, that they be founken negligent about their owne profit, and consequently vnapt to the ministracion of thinges of waightly importance. How vntreue their allegations be, & on how feble a foundation they are buylded, it shall in this wise appere vnto wise men. First the sayd proouerbe semeth by him which lacked lerninge, to be deuised, sens that he preferrith ignorance before knunninge: whiche arrogance declared hym to be a very foole, and vnwitty: consideringe that by knowlge most chiefly, a man excelleth al other mortall creatures, and therby is moste like vnto god. And lerninge is none other thinge, but an aggregation of many mens sentences & actes to the augmentation of knowlge. And if som lerned men do neglect their temporall commodities, it is for one of these causes: either by cause they haue ben so desirous of knowlge, and in respect therof esteemed so lytle all other pleasures, that they thought the tyme all to lytle, whiche they dyd spend in it, holdinge them selfes with that whiche ser-

ued.

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ned for natures necessarie right wel contēted, or els like as the grehound that was sent to great Alexander by the king of Albania, whā there were shewed unto him severally a gret hart, a boze, & a beare, he bouched not saul to loke on them, but lay still wagging his tayle: thā was there brought forth a great lyon, to whom he dyd arise softly, and setting vp his bristels, & shewing his teethe, sicing to the lyon, lightly strangled him. Afterwarde a puissante olyfante beinge brought to the place, the grehounde semynge to reioyce at the greatnessse of the beste, roused him, and after two or thre questinges, he lept to the great olyphant, and after a long fight ouerthrew him and kylled him. So I dout not but that som men there be living, in whom is such courage, that in thinges of lytle importance may seeme to be negligent, disdayninge as it were to spend their wittes or labours about the pelfry of riches: which being ones called to autho:ritie ioyned with liberty, wil enforce them selfes to make their ministratiōs noble & excellent. Such were Solon, Aristides, and Phocion in Athenes, Publicola, Fabritius, Curius, and Cato Uticensis at Rome, whose lyues I wold to god were in Englyshe, and the lyke be nowe lyuyng, yf they were sought for.

And for the confutation of that pestiferous opinio: gret lerned men be hapt to the ministratiōn of thinges of waighty importāce, this shalbe sufficient. First as I late said lerning is the augmentatiōn of knowlege, which the mo:re that it is, the mo:re maye be perceiued what shalbe most necessary in thinges whiche happe in cōsultation. & the mo:re that it is perceyued, the better and mo:re aptly may it be ministred and executed. Examples

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amples we haue of Moyses, who beinge excellently lerned in the most dyffuse doctrines of the Egyptians & Ethiopians, was by almighty god chosen to guide and rule his people, which were innumerable & moste froward of nature: and with what wonderfull wisedome and pacience dyd he gouerne them by the space of xl.yeres, beinge without any cities, townes, or any certaine possessiōs: who were better leders of armes than great Alexāder, Scipio, Lucullus, & Cesar, whiche were men al of great lerning: who better handled matters of waughty importāce, than Octauian called Augustus, Hadrian, Marcus Antoninus, Alexander, Seuerus, & of late yettes Carolus Magnus, al emperours of Rome, and men very studiouse in all noble sciences: whan was there a better consul thā Tully. or a better senato; thā Cato called Uticensis: And to retourne home to our owne countrey, and wherof we our selfes may be witnessses, howe moche hath it profited vnto this realme, that it nowe hath a kynge our souerayne lord kyng H E N R Y theyght exactly well lerned: Hath not he therby onely sifted out detestable heresies, late mingled amonoge the corne of his faythfull subiectes, and caused moche of the chaffe to be thowten in the fyre: also hipocrisy and vayne superstition to be cleane banyshed: wherof I doubt not, but that there shalbe or it be longe, a more ample remembrance, to his most noble and immortall renome: This well considered, let men ceasse their sayde foolishhe opinion, and holde them content with their owne ignorance, and so; my part, say what they liste, I wil during my life, be in this wise occupied, in bestowing my talent, beinge satisfied with the contentynge of suche

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men as ye be, adourned with vertue, the most prect-  
ouse garment of very nobylitie.

¶ But now to thintent that ye if ye list, may attayn in  
estimable profit by the reding of this little warke, I do  
exhort you, that redyng it distinctly and studiously,  
first ye marke diligently, howe by the lasciuouse and  
remisse education of Varius Heliogabalus, he grewe  
to be a person most monstruouse in liunge, also howe  
not withstandinge, that he not onely suffered, but al-  
so prouoked the people to lyue in a moste beastely ly-  
cence: yet horrible synne at the last became to all men  
fastidiose and lothsome. wherfore they slewe in most  
miserable facion him that consumed infinite treasour  
in suppottinge their lewdenes. Than shall ye note di-  
ligently, howe moche it profytte to Alexander, who  
nerte dydde succede hym, that he had so wise and ver-  
tuouse a mother, and that he was brought vp among  
so wyse counsailours. Also the maner of his metuay-  
louse proeedinges, in reformynge a publike weale,  
lefte vnto hym corrupted so shamefully, wherin was  
more difficulty, than to begynne it, where never was  
any. Marke also his moste noble qualitees, and howe  
they were tempred. Moreouer the forme of his spea-  
kinge, and howe as he grew in yeres, so waxed it more  
mature and serouse, sometyme abounding, other-  
whiles shorte and compendiose, as oportuntye ser-  
ued. In his actes and deccrees, what Justice and pru-  
dence were in them contayned, what seueritie he vsed,  
sparinge neither hym selfe, nor his frendes or myny-  
sters. Finally, all his lyfe is a wonderfull myghtour, if  
it be truely radde and iustly considered, whiche if ye  
do often loke on, ye maye thereby attynge your selfe in  
suche

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Suche facion, as men shall therfore haue you in more  
fauour and honour, than if ye hadde on you as  
tiche a garmente as the greette Turke  
hathe any. Only for my good  
wyll in translatyng it so  
you, I desyre your  
gentyll report  
and assynt  
tence  
agrynst them, whiche do hate all  
thynges, whyche please  
not their fan-  
tasyes.



# THE TABLE



**S**f what lygnage the Emperoure Alexander was, and the sygnes betokenyng his empyre. Cap. i.

**C**the education of Alexander, and how he profyted in vertue and doctrine. Cap. ii.

**C**Of the monstreuos lyuunge of the Emperour Varius Heliogabalus, wherby the cytie of Rome was corrupted. Cap. iii.

**C**Howe Alexander was made emperor, and of his wondersfull temperaunce in refusyng diverse great honours. Cap. iii.

**C**The example of vertu giuen by Alexander in the forme of his lyuunge and dayly customes. Cap. v.

**C**The letter of Gordian the senatour to the emperour Alexander. Cap. vi.

**C**The answer of Alexander to the letters of Gordian. Cap. vii.

**C**The firske practise of Alexander in reducinge of the empyre into his pristinat honour. Cap. vii.

**C**In what forme thempetur Alexander had his counsayle, which alway atteded vpon his person. Cap. ix.

**C**The oration of Alexander to the senate. Cap. x.

**C**How the correctours of maners, called Lensors were elected, and with what rygour they excuted their office by the commandement of Alexander. Cap. xi.

**C**Of the great prudence of Alexander vsed in the election of his counsaylours and officers. Cap. xii.

**C**How extremely Alexander hated extorcioners and brabours, and how moche he sauoured them that were vertuouse. Cap. xiii.

**C**A notable example giuen by Alexander in repreving an ambitious and vainglorious counsaylour. Cap. xiii.

**C**The consultation concerning the punishment of Turus

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nus, and the excellent reason of the emperour Alexander. Cap. iv.

¶ How Alexander instructed and entertained them that were officers, and of his liberality toward them that dyd well theyz dueties. Cap. v.

¶ How curious the emperour Alexander was in assyning of iustices in his lawes, and how he vsed liberality or sharpnes towardes them, accordinge to their me rites. Cap. vii.

¶ Of the great care and diligence that Alexander vsed about the publike weale, and of certayne new officers ordayned by hym. Cap. viii.

¶ How the emperour Alexander dyd ordeyne new officers in the weale publike, and what belonged to their authoritie. Cap. ix.

¶ The detestation that Alexander had vnto idelnes, and the vyccs therof procedinge, and of diuers prouisions that he made agaynst it. Cap. x.

¶ Of baynes and places of exercises, made for the people of Rome, by the emperour Alexander. Cap. xi.

¶ Of the magnificece of the emperour Alexander in stupuous and necessary warkes, and in what exercises he caused the nobility and gentelmen of Rome to be occupied. Cap. xii.

¶ Of hospitals and other prouision made by Alexander for men that were decrepite, or so diseased that they coulde not labour. Cap. xiii.

¶ In how sundry wise Alexander exercysed his own per sonne, soo that he was never vunprofitably occupied. Cap. xiv.

¶ How the Emperour Alexander, at the request of his mo ther Dammea, sent for the moiste excellent clerke Ori gen: & of diuerse notable sentences spoken by the same empe-

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emperour, concernyng the receyvinge of the christen  
sayth. Cap. xxv.

**C**how Mammæa the Emperours mother exhorted him  
to be maried, and what wise answeres he made, and  
finally toke to wife the daughter of a noble and ancient  
senatour. Cap. xxvi.

**C**Of the seueritie that Alexander vsed, as well towarde  
them that were proude, as to thē that were malaperte  
and dyd not their duetie. Cap. xxvii.

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of Rome. Cap. xxviii.

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chastisinge as well the pride of the people, as also his  
men of warre or souldiours. Cap. xxix.

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der in admittinge counsaylours. And of his answere  
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nus, concerninge the disablyng of Sextilius Rufus in  
his absence. cap. xxxiv.

**C**how Sextilius herynge that he was made pretor, fled:  
And what the Emperour sayd concerninge that matter  
cap. xxxv.

**C**he

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¶ The letters of the Emperour Alexander sent to Sextilius and how vnwillyngly he retourned to Rome, and received the office of Pretor. cap. xxxvi.

¶ A notable question meued by Julius Paulus vnto the Emperour Alexander. And the wise answere which he therunto made. cap. xxxvii.

¶ Of a great exclamation made against a gentleman called Marcus Seminus by his libertines. And the oration of Junius Moderatus, made in the Senate. cap. xxxviii.

¶ The oration of Junius Moderatus. codem.

¶ The wonderful prudence and equitie shewed by Alexander the Emperour, in the determination and sentence in the matter precedinge. cap. xxxix.

¶ Thus endeth the Table.

So So So os So



# OF VVHAT LYNAGE

THE EMPEROVR ALEXANDER

was, and the sygnes betokenyngē

his Empyre. Capi. 1.



## VRELIVS ALEXAN-

der sommetyme Emperour of Rome, was borne in the roialme of Siria, in the Cytie of Attene, whose father had to name Marius, whiche was ley- neally descended from the noble hous of Metellus the Romayne, called Metellus the ver- tuouse. Albeit some writers suppose, that Seuerus, before he was emperour, was amorous of a woman in Siria, and by the arte of Astronomie fyndyngē in her nativitie, that she shuld be an emperours mother, he toke her to wifē, and had issue by her, Marius the father of Alexander: but fyndyngē the progeny of this Emperour is very vncertayn: wherfore in myne opi- nion his lyfe and actes be the moze to be honored and meruayled at, consyderyngē that beinge come of so vncertayne a lynage, and borne so ferre from the citie of Rome, and in so barbarous a countrey, he could so well governe the empire of Rome, whiche before his tyme was with pyde and other detestable vyses ex- tremely corrupted.

The mother of Alexander was called Manimca, a woman of notable wylidome, as it shall hereafter appere by the bryngyngē vp of her sonne, and preser- uyngē of hym as well from the vyses, wherunto he was not onely prouoked, but also wel nygh constrainyd, by that mooste beastely emperour Marius Helio-

A

gaba-

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gabalus, his cousyn germayne and predecessor, notwithstanding there was in that noble woman Mammea, a great spyce of auarpce in gatherynge and kepyng of treasure, whiche fynally was the only cause of the deathe bothe of her and her sonne. The sayde Mammea was doughter of a woman called Mela, which was boorne in Phenicia, in a towne called Emefa, and was syster of Julia, wife of the emperor Seuerus. This Mela lyuing, Seuerus and Bassianus his sonne, was contynually abydyng in the courtes of those emperours: and after the deceas of Bassianus, she was commanded by Macrinus than emperor, to departe to her countrey, albeit the emperour graunted that she shulde take with her suche treasure, as she had gathered, whiche was abundant. She had also two doughters, the one called Semiamira, the other Mamea. Semiamira had a sonne named Bassianus, which was of excellent beaultie. And because he was prelate in the temple of the sunne, whome the Phenices do calle Heliogabalus, he was semblablye called by that name, haupng added thereto the name of Varius, whiche is in englishe diuers, for as moche as some men suppose, that he was conceyued of the sede of dyuers men, his mother Semiamira beyng incontinent, and as it were comune to many men, dertynge the tyme that she abode in the emperours court with her mother. Not withstanding her sonne Heliogabalus, by the crafty meanes of his grandame Mela, was declared to be the sonne of the emperor Bassianus, and by the fauour of the men of warre of the Romayns, who than murmured and had in hatrede the pyde and crueltie of Macrinus (who was emperor

cour after Bassianus) and his sonne Diadumenus, the sayde Varius Heliogabalus was aduanced unto the empire, who with holuptuous and monstrous lyuyng, in such wise corrupted the citie of Rome, that therein vnneth remayned any stepp of vertue or honestye.

¶ Contrarywyse the other daughter of Mesa cal-  
led Mammea, of whom I intende nowe to write, indu-  
ced rather by nature and reason, than by the example  
of her viciouse mother, so nourished and trayned her  
sayd sonne Alexander in vertue & lernyng, that part-  
ly by her education, but moche more by his owne in-  
clination naturall, he became one of the most perfecte  
princis that euer gouerned.

¶ The education of Alexander, and howe he profited in vertues  
and doctrine. Capit. II.



OVCHYNGE THE EDVCA TION  
in chyldhode of Alexander, his noble mo-  
ther Mammea failed not to prouide with  
all diligence and circumspection, that hit  
son mought be nouyshed in vertue, and  
amonge honest company, and that fro the tyme that  
he issued out of his infancy, he were contynually in-  
structed in all maner of doctrine, both ciuite and mar-  
ciall: so that afterwarde he of his owne courage ne-  
uer suffred any daye to passe, without exercysyng him-  
selfe eyther in letters, or in faictis marciall. In the  
fyfthe parte of his chyldhode he hadde instructours.  
Valerius Cordius, Titus Vetusius, and Aurelius  
Philippus: whiche afterwarde wrate his lyfe. Also  
in his countrey he was taught in greke by Febo the  
grain-

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grammarian, and the rhetorician Herapio, and Stilio the philosopher. At Rome he had teachers in the latine tounge, fyse in grammeter Scartinus a famous master, in rhetorike he was instructed by Julius Frontinus, Bebius Macrinus, & Julianus Graianus. Al be it he dyd not soo moche delyte in latine eloquence, as in the greke, ne dyd therin profyte soo moch: but he loued all men that were lerned, and feared them also, lest they shulde wryte of hym any thing shapely, or to his rebuke.

Moreover he sent often tymes for those excellente personages, communicatynge with them thynges whiche were done as well priuily as also openly: wilyng them, that all that they founde to be true, they shulde put it in wrytyng: suffcynge also them to reproue hym whan they seemed conuenyent. Often tymes he made verses in greke very pleasant, and was moch inclyned to musike. In the mathematical sciences, that is to say, Arithmetike, Geometry, and Astro-nomy, he was very well lerned. And therfore dyuerse tymes by his commandment, the professours of those sciences purposed openly questions. In diuination he was so excellent, that he therin surmounted the diuynours of Gascoyne, Spayne, and Hungry. He painted also excellently. Also he dyd synge very pleasant-ly, but neuer in the presence of any other, but onely of his seruauntes and pages of his priuy chaumber. He wrate the lyues of good princes in verses eloquently, and sange them vnto the harpe and organes, tyghte swetely, but that dyd he onely for recreatyng his spi-rites, whan they were troubled with vehement studie: as it often tymes hapned by incomparabile laboure a- boute

bout the great assayes of the weale publyke. He was of visage fayre, and well proportioned in body: large and goodly of personage, and therwith was stronge and durable to sustayne peynes, as he that knewe his owne strength, and in the preseruynge therof was not founde negligent. Thereto he was amiable, and towarde euery man gentyl, and easy to be spoken vnto. Also there was in hym so moche humanitie and beneuolence, that he wolde often tymes vysite not onelye the beste and the seconde of his frendes and seruauntes beinge sicke, but also them that were inferiours and of base haupour, despyng them to tell to hym frely what they thought of hym, whom he wolde attentifely here. And whan he had herde them throughtly, than as the thyng, which was spoken of, did require, he wold diligently amende and correcte it. And whan his mother wolde saye often tymes to hym, Sir ye be to familiar and easye, and therfore ye shall cause the imperiall astate to be the lasse sette by, he aunswered thus, But yet shall it be more sure, and contynue the longer. This was his disposition, procedyng as wel of the perfection of his moste gentylle nature, as of the education of his good and circumspect mother.

**C**Nowe wil I proceede to write of his excellent wisedome and vertue, experienced in his authoritie imperiall, wherin was declared the moste perfect forme of gouernance that euer was practised by any prynce (as I suppose) whiche shall appere the more manifestly, yf fyft I treat somewhat of the moste myserable astate of the weale publyke; and as it seemed incorrigible, at the tyme that he receyued the gouernance therof, he than beinge but of the age of xvi. yeres, whiche

A. iii.

beinge

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being consydered and kepte in remembrance, this history shall be to the reders therof (excepte I be deceyued) bothe plesant and meruaylous, and no lasse profitable to gouernours that do p̄fertere their publyke weale before wilful appetite and particular pleasures.

**C**Of the monstrosous syuyng of the emperor Heliogabalus, wherby the citie of Rome was corrupted. Ca. iii.

Tyannye  
z auarice.



**A**CRINVS the emperor for his auarice and tyannye beinge abandoned (or rather betrayed) of his owne people, and slaine with his sonne Diadumenus, who in beaultie and goodly stature excelled al men of his tyme, Marius Heliogabalus, of whom I late spake, was aduaunced unto the empire, by the hole consent of the Senate and people of Rome, who gaue hasty credence to all reportes that were made to the honour and praise of their newe princis. (Such is the appetites of men, which be meued anon with credulitie: for suche thynges as they despise, they coueyte to here of, and do delite in new tydinges, though it be falsely reported.) But Heliogabalus as soone as he was come vnto Rome, out of the countrey of Siria, he immedately declared his beastly nature, by insynghe vices moste abhomynable, and aduauncyng the faudurers and haunters of the same vices, and infoxyng with all his study and puissance, to exterminate out of the citie of Rome all vertue and honestie, from whens a lyttell before, all the wold receyued doctrine and example of honour, concernyng as well vertuous maners, as martiall p̄owesse.

**C**lyste in lechery this Heliogabalus was so insatiable,

able, that not onely he exercysed that byce openly, in common baynes and boordell houses, with sundry women of diuerse degrees and countreys: but also he ordeyned a senate of common harlattes, amonge whom were dyuerse noble matrones and damsels of Rome, theyr husbandes or parentes not beinge so hardye to let or rebuke them, vnto whom often tymes, after he and his ribauldes had saciate with them theyr lecherous appetites, he made a solemne contio or proposi-  
tion, callynge them his compantons, and exhortynge them to set al theyr studi and wytte to induce al other women vnto the fourme of theyr lyuyng: declaring exp[ress]ely, that he aboue all other thynges moste desired, that all men and womenne of the citie of Rome shuld be semblably disposed as he was. I holde it not conuenient to be wrytten in any vulgare tungē, howe he transformed and abused his proper kynde, in such wylle, as I suppose the mooste vicious man nowe lyuyng wolde be ashamed, not onely to beholde it, but also to here it, and that dyd he not onely secretly or in his house, but also openly, all men that wolde, behol-  
dying and lokinge on hym. I omitt the residue, whiche in myne opynion oughte neuer to haue ben wryt-  
ten for abomination therof, moch more neuer to haue ben of any man knownen.

**H**e also promoted to the greatest dignities of the publyke weale, common bawdes, notable ribauldes, solicitours and furtherers of dishonest appetites, of-  
ten tymes codes and deuilers of lecherous confecti-  
ons and sawces: Semblably by such persons he sold dignities, auctorites and offices in the publike weale. He also elected into the Senate, and to the roumes of great

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great capitaynes, dukes, and gouernoures of countreys mooste vyle personages, not haupnge regard to any age, gentylnesse of bloud, meryte, possessions or substaunce. He had of his priupe counsayle in all his actes, two Carters, the one named **Protogenes**, and the other **Cordius**. His glotonye was almosste equall vnto his lecherye: in so moch as he therin banquished **Vitellius**, of whom it is written, that at one supper he was serued with seuen thousande fysshes, and fyue thousande foules. **Heliogabalus** whan he soiourned nygh to the see, he wold never be seruid with sea fishe: but beinge in places far distante from the sea, he caused all his houshold to be serued with mooste delycate sea fyfhe. It abhozreth me to expresse his beastely lyuynge, but to the intent that the excellent vertues of his mooste noble successour shal be more apparant and commendable (lyke as al thyng that is vile or course, doth set forthe more pleasantly that thyng whiche is precious and fyne) it is requisite that I describe this monster in some parte as he was. All be it I doo not tell every thyng that I haue redde of hym, as well for that it shal be to good men odious to here, as also it mought happen to incend the wanton and lewde courages of some readers, inclined to semblable qualities, whiche (god knoweth) is moche contrary vnto my purpose.

**B**ut to retourne to this monstruous Emperour, whiche consumed dayes and nyghtes in lecherye and glotony, haupnge some daye all his company serued with the braynes of **Ostriches**, and a straunge foule called **Phenocopteri**: an other daye with the tunges of **Popingayes**, nightyngales, and other sweete syn-  
gyng

gyng bydes, oftentymes with the myltes of most de-  
lycate fyshes. I omittte other lyght fantasyes, wher-  
of I haue written in my boke called the gouernour,  
where I treate of sobrietie. Synally it is remembred,  
that he was never two days togyther serued with one  
meate, nor wate twyse one garmente, nor compaunyed  
twyse with one woman, excepte his wyfe. As often as  
he remoued in progresse, there folowed hym. vi. C. cha-  
riottes laded only with baudes, comon harlottes, and  
rybauldes. This compayne had he in stede of coun-  
saylours, and so delyted in this forme of lyuyng, that  
he sayd oftentymes, that if he had a sonne, he wolde  
ordeyne for hym maisters, that shulde compell hym to  
lyue in semblable facion. To these monstruous vices  
he added to crueltie, in puttyng to deathe dyuerse no-  
ble senatours. Also blynge the counsayle of wytches  
and inchanters, he made his sacrifice with yong chil-  
dren: And violently rauylshynge from the noble men  
and women of Italy, their yonge infantes, he caused  
in his presence their bodies to be opened they lyuyng,  
and most cruelly serched in their tender bowelles for  
his moste damnable desteny. He had in speciall fauor  
one named Zoticus, who for familiarite bled betwene  
them, was taken of all the chiefe officers for the em-  
perours husbande. This Zoticus vnder the colour of  
the sayd familiaritie, solde all the sayinges and doin-  
ges of the emperour, intendyng to accumulate abun-  
dance of rychesse, by promysyng fayre to many men,  
but synally deceyuyng all men. for commynge out of  
the emperours priuy chamber, after that he had herd  
euery man speake, that sayd vnto him, to som he wold  
say, thus sayd I to the emperour of you, vnto an other

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If you I herde the emperour saye thus to daye. To  
dyuers he wold say, Your matter or request shal come  
this to passe. As is the facion of suche maner of per-  
sones, whiche beinge from a base condicion admitted  
of p̄ncis into ouermoche familiaritie, they selle the  
fame and renome of their masters. Such as I haue  
reherced were the counsaylours of Heliogabalus. for  
al wyse and vertuous men he deedly hated. wherfoze  
he banished the noble man Sabinus, vnto whom Ul-  
pianus the great lawyer w̄ate his booke. And seem-  
blably he put out of the citie the sayde Ulpian, onely  
bycause he was named a good manne, and caused  
Siluinus the noble oratour, whom he had made ma-  
ister to Alexander, to be put to dethe. And he ordeyned  
a tumbler to be great maister of his houshalde, a car-  
ter named Gordius he made capitayne of his garde.  
An other tumbler he made chefe captayn of an arm̄y.  
The greatest rounes and affaires of the empyre, he  
commytted to mynstrels, players of enterludes and  
dysardes. To his bondmen and most vyle seruantes  
as they excelled in abomination, so p̄fettered he thein  
to the gouernance of realmes and p̄ouinces. Also of  
his rabell of brothelles, to some he gaue the rule and  
gouernance of the youth of the citie: som he made ru-  
lers of the senate, to other he gaue p̄eeminence and  
souerayntie ouer al them that were gentilmen, finally  
he intended to distroy all vertue, and to constayne all  
men to lyue beastely as he dyd. And for that cause he  
comanded that the noble Alexander his aunte sonne  
shulde be slayne, either violently or by some p̄oyson:  
for as moche as he perceyued hym to declyne from his  
appetite: but Alexander was alwaye p̄esecued by the  
p̄ou-

prouidence of god, who inclyned the mindes of the senate & people to his preseruacio. so; nothing availeth the malice of tyranteres agaynst innocentis & good me, wher almyghty god wyl not haue the to petysh. wherfore this monstruous emperour, desyryng the destruction of Alexander, procured his owne deth, agreeable with his abhomiuable lyving. so; his owne seruantes and souldiours, whiche were prepared for the garde of his person, dreadynge leste the people making insurrection, that they shuld be parteners of his mischeuous ende, being also tedious of his abominationes, conspired to deluyer the common weale of hym. And sodaynly apprehended his adherentes and familiaris, and with sundry tormentes dyd put them to deth. Finally pursuing Heliogabalus to a priuie draught, whereto he fledde, there they slewe hym, and his mother Hemiamita, and afterwarde his horrible carayn being drawn throughout the citie with hookes, was of all the people defyled with ordure, and other matter soule and stynkyng, & at the last was brought with all kyndes of reproche, to the comon draughtes of the citie, wherinto they wolde haue thrown hym, but for as moch as the hole of the draught coulde not recepue hym, they tyed him to a stone of great weight, and threw hym into the ryuer of Tybet, to the intent that he shulde never be buryed. This was the worthy and conuentient ende of this most beastly and vncleane monster, who with the emperors Nero, Caligula, Domitian, and Comodus, his predecessors, was a notable and commodius example to all princis succedyng, to declare, that notwithstandinge their maiestie and puissance, they so; their vices abhominable,

But were

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were fyſte hated, and afterwardeſ layne, and dishonoured by their propre ſubiectes.

**C**and in this hystorie it is to be ſpecially noted, that not withſtandynge that he not onely permitteth, but alſo wylled his ſubiectes to lyue in a licence, and with out correction, for synne, moꝛeouer uſed toward them ſuche lyberalitie, that he fedde them with moſte delycate and exquife meates, gaue unto them money in habundance, and alſo to them, whiche dyned or ſupped with hym, he gaue all the vefel and plate, were it of golde or ſyluer, wherwith he was ſerued, and made many other diſtributions to the hole people wonderfull ſumptuous: Yet the Romayns notwithstanding abhorryng in hym their owne propre vices, or rather beynge therwith faciate or tedious, they fyinally ſlewe hym, as is before written, after that he hadde reygned fyſt yeres, & being than but in the. xxi. yere of his age.

**C**howe Aleſander was made emperoure, and of his wonderfull temperance in reuſyng diverse great honours. Cap. iii.



IMEDIATELY after the death of Heliogabalus the ſenate and people of Rome beynge ſurprized with incredibie ioye, uſed all diligence and ſpede, that Aurelius Aleſander, whom they had defended frome death, mought forthwith as verty emperour receyue all auctorite and honour, that partheyned to the impetall maieſtie. Wherefore they contended amonge them ſelues, whiche of them moughte applye to hym moſte titles and names of dignitie. Wherefore he was the fyſte that receyued at one tyme all ornamenteres and tokens of honour, aydynge thereto the name of Cesar,

Cesar, which a fewe yeres before he had receyued, but moche rather his honeste lyfe and vertuous maners, wherby he obteyned suche fauour of all menne, that whan Heliogabalus wold haue slayne hym, he could not bryng it to passe, the men of armes resisting, and the senate obstynately refusyng: but all these were but trifels in regarde that he approued hym selfe worthy, whom the senate ought to saue harmelesse, whom the men of warre desyred to be in saufegarde, and generally by the sentence and opinion of all good men, was electe to be Emperour, beyng than but of the age of. xvi. yeres. Notwithstandynge he was than of suche a wonderfull sobernesse, that where the senate wolde haue gyuen to hym the surname of Antonine (which name for the incomparabile vertues that were in Antoninus Pius, and Antoninus the philosopher late Emperours, was vsurped of other Emperours folowynge, for a pryncipall title of honour) he humbly refused it: semblably dyd he the name of great Alexander, sayinge openly vnto the senate.

**C**I beseeche you honorable fathers, do not cal me vnto this necessarie, that I shuld be compelled to satisfy you in the metites of so hygh a name as Antonine is. For if ye seke for goodnesse in a prynce, who was better or more vertuous than Antoninus Pius: If ye seke lernynge, who was more wyse or cumyng than Marcus Antoninus: And who was more harmelesse than Verus Antoninus: Noble fathers, these hyghe names of honour bebourdonous and to greuouse for my youthe to susteyne. For who wyll gladdely here a dumme man called Tully, an idiote Warro, a tyrant Metellus: And as touchyng the name of greate Alexander.

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Alexander, it is moche moze incongruent, consydering that with better reason I moughte haue taken the name of Antonine, induced by colout either of assyntie, or els of equall astate in the imperial maiestie. but the name of great Alexander, wherfore shuld I haue it? what gret thinges haue I yet done to deserue that name, whiche Alexander the greke after great enterpyses, Pompei the Romayne after many triumphes, had gyuen vnto them? Cease therfore honoorable fathers, to conferre to me honours aboue my myrtytes. and sens ye wyll haue me called great, suffre me to be one of you, who in very dede be great in honour and perfyte magnisfcence.

**C**his moderate and sobre aunswere of so yonge a pynce, inflamed immediately the hartes of the senate and people moche moze to honour hym, than if he had receyued those straunge names: and from that tyme he had the renoume of Constance and grauitie. More ouer for his great Austeritie agayne the presumption and lightnesse of his souldiours and seruauntes, he was named of them Seuerus, which betokeneth constante or sharpe in punishmente. whiche naime in his tyme gat hym moche reuerence, and afterward great fame and renoume amonge his successours. fynally this moste towardly pynce with incredible ioye was triumphantly conuayed by all the Senate and people, to the imperial palacie: where beinge left, he prepared hym selfe to the reformation of the hole empire, than beinge in ruine.

The

**C**The example of vertue gauen by Alexander in the fourme  
of his lyuyng and dayly customes. Cap. 5.

**I**MEDIATELY after that Alexander  
by the consent of the Senate and people,  
was stablyshed in the imperial authoritie,  
and so; his excellent goodnesse was moste  
ardently beloued of the multitude, also  
the remembraunce of Heliogabalus and his adheren-  
tes so; they; detestable vices beinge euery where ha-  
ted, and with detestation abhorred: This noble yonge  
emperour takyng than oportunitie to restore the pub-  
lyke weale to her pristine fourme, with the maiestie  
imperiall, late violated, and well nyghe perysched,  
throughe the negligence of the sayde monster.

**C**He by the counsayle of his wise and vertuouse mo-  
ther Mammea, fyre purged his owne palacie, ex-  
cludyng out of his courte and all offices, dishoneste  
and infamed personages: and by noo meanes wolde  
suffer to be in his householde any other, than by all  
men shulde be thought necessary.

**C**Moreover he openly protested, makyng an othe,  
that he wolde never haue a superfloue numbre of  
seruauntes, to the intent that he wolde not greue the  
publyke weale with his prouision, saying, That em-  
perour is a shewde pupyll, that fedeth with the bo-  
welles of his commons, men whiche be not necessary,  
nor yet profytale to the weale publyke.

**C**Howe moche he hated unklenesse of lyuyng, he  
well declared, whan he commaunded that no woman  
infamed shuld salute or bysite his wif or his mother.  
All his lyfe was a perfecte Example of Temperance.

**Hig.**

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His aparaile was wonderful cleane, but not to sumptuous, and after some mennes opinion, mo<sup>r</sup>e meaner than to his astate appeteyned. Semblable moderation the empresse his wyfe obserued. Synally duryng his tyme he vsed diligent correction of his owne maners: wherfore all noble men assayed to folowe hym. And all honorable women ensued the empresses example.

**A**nd Alexander. **M**oreouer this emperour was of such an incomparable mansuetude, that he conmaunded, that noo man shuld wryte vnto hym in any other fourme, than shulde be wryten to a priuate person, reseruyng the name of emperour. And also prohibyted, that no man shulde call hym lord, but salute hym as one of the secretours, and in this fourme, Be glad Alexander. And if a man hadde vsed in gesture or speche any maner of flattery, he was eyther put backe, if the place so required, or els with a great laughter was mocked by them whiche were present.

**C**And for as moche as he wold not be saluted or visited but of theym whiche were honeste, and of good fame, he decreed, that noo man shulde enter into his palaice, but onely suche as knewe them selues vncorrupted with notable vices. And caused to be proclaymed, that noo personne, knowynge hym selfe to be a thef or extortioneer, shuld be so hardy to salute the emperour, vpon payne of lesyng his lyfe. He hadde this sentence often tymes in his mouthe: Theues onelye complayne of pouertie, therby couetynge to hide their mischeuous lyuyng.

**C**Synally no daye passed, wherin he dydde not some thynges charitably, gentilly, or honorably, but that thynges

thynges he dydde in suche wyse, as therin he neyther consumed ne wasted the common treasure.

**C**he procured selome any condamnacions, but those that were done he never pardoned. The tributes or fee fermes of cities, he often tymes gaue to the repaireinge and buyldinge of the same cities. Moreouer to dyuers poore men, of whose vertue or wisedome he hadde perfect knowlege, he lente of his Treasure to purchase landes, receyuyng agayne his owne money, onely of the rentes of the same landes, and lette the sayde personnes haue the possession and all other psonytes.

**C**he wolde not suffer any of his courte to weare any garment myxte with golde, or other wyse preciouse or costely: no; he hym selfe delyted in ryche apparayle, saying, That gouernaunce was in vertue and not in beautie or costly apparayle.

**C**At his table he vsed no gold but pure berill & chystal, and other like matter to dynuke in: he exceeded not **CC. li.** waight of syluer vessell in all his householde.

**C**preciouse stones that were given to him, he caused to be solde, estemyng it to be a womanly appetite to haue suche iewelles, whiche he mought neyther gyue to his souldiours, ne in hauyng them synde any psonyte. Wherfore on a tyme whan an ambassadour had gyuen to the empresse two orient perles of wonderful greatnessse, he commanded them to be solde. And whā no man coulde be founde that wolde gyue as moche as the p̄yce was esteemed, leste any euel example shuld procede of the empresse, if she shulde be seene to weare that thyng, whiche noo manne coulde bye, he caused them to be hanged at the eares of the image of Venus:

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nus: therby declarynge, that such thynges eyther for the inestimable p<sup>r</sup>yme was metter for goddes than for men, or for the vnp<sup>r</sup>oytable beaultie therof, serued onely for persons of wanton appetites, whereof Venus was goddesse and patronesse.

**C**Mo lass<sup>e</sup> temperaunce vsed he in meates and drynkes, never excedynge four sundrye kyndes of fleshe and fysh at one meale, and those with a great moderation and reason. He dranke wyne not skarsely, nor to moche, but competently.

**C**In feastes or bankettyng he never wolde haue any wanton pastyme. His pleasure was to beholde birdes fyghtyng together. And therfore he had in his garden, places, where bydes of sundry kyndes were inclosed and kept, wherin he toke synguler pleasure. Notwithstandyng to the intent that he wolde in noo thing aggrieue the market in feding them with corn, he had seruauntes that prouyded for them egges of wildefoule and culuers.

**C**In honeste recreation he was meruaylouse merye and pleasaunt, amiable in communication, at the table so gentyll, that euery man mought demaunde of hym what he wolde. And to the intent that he wold be the more circumspecte, he ordyned the wyse man Ulpiane, one of the greatest interpretours of the lawe ciuile, to be in the stede of his tutour, his mother repugnyng therat at the fyre, but after she gaue him therfore greatte prayses. Whan he dyned or supped a boode, he had cuer with hym Ulpiane or other wel lerned men, to the intent he wold than here histories cestynyng lernynge, wherwith he sayde that he was dothe recreate and also fedde. If he satte p<sup>r</sup>pulyc, he had

had a boke by hym and radde therin oftentimes, but that was in greke, for the moxe part. In open feastes he vsed the same simplicitie that he did in his palacie.

**C**he so moche had flattery in hatre, that he wolde not here oratours or poetes speke any thyng to his prayse, callinge it folyshenesse: but he harde gladlye orations, perswadynge to vertue, and also the actes of other good pypnis, as wel Romayns as Grekes, specially the prayse of Alexander the greate, whiche conqueryd the moxe parte of the wold.

**C**he went oftentimes openly to the common schooles to here rhetoriciens and poetes grekes and latynes. He harde also oratours recitynge causes, whiche they had prosecuted eyther before hym, or before the great offycers.

**C**ynally he so moch esteemed and favoured letning that he ordeyned greate salaryes to be gyuen to the toxicians, teachers of grammāt, phisitions, astrono-  
mers, geomettricians, musiciens, deuisers of building and ingines. And prouided for them places to reade in, and scholars also, gyuyng to poore and honeste mennes chyldren that hard them, they commons fre. with lyke charitie he retaine aduocates in poore mens causes. And suche lawyers as frelye dyd helpe poore menne with they counsayle and labour, he rewarded them with corne and wyne to maynteyne they householde.

**C**he also yerelye perused his lawes, and refourmed them accordynge as occasion changed or hapned. and he hym selfe diligently and rigorously executed them in his owne personne and seruauntes. And therwith was of suche gentylness, that he wolde ofter to gyve

Archites  
ii.

C. ii place

THE IMAGE OF

place to the ancient Senatours that came vnto him. And wolde suffer no man of honestie that preaced to speke with hym, to be repelled. He never dyd wronge to any person, semblably of wronges he was a behemente and sharpe persecutour, sauinge, That in his owne wronge he was moche more tractable than in a straungers. If he laye not with his wyfe, he was in the morynge betyme in his priue closet, where were sette the ymage of Christe, also the pictures of Abraham, Socrates, Apollonius, and other uncient and vertuouse men, where, by the space of halfe an houre, he remayned in prayers. And for this deuotion and maruaylouse craumple of lyuyng, he was had of all men in wonderfull reuerence. All be it his temperate and sobre lyuyng, beyng thought of some men not agreeable nor congruente to his maiestie, he was exhorted to aduaunce his astate, bothe in princely port, and moche sumptuous maner of lyuyng, leauinge his assabilitie and strayte obseruation of his lawes, as it shall appere by letters folowynge, mutually wrytten betwene hym and his counsaylours.

**C** The letter of Gordiane the senatour to the Emperour Alexander. Cap. vi.



HERE VVAS IN the citie of Rome an honorable Senatour named Gordiane, who hadde sometyme ben consul (whiche was the hyghest dignitie next to the emperour) and was the rychest man of all the citie, hauing the greatest possessions in the countreyes adioynyng, that any man had, the emperour onely except, and also was a man of excellent letting and

and wisedome: wherfore duryng the lyfe of Heliogabalus, this Gordiane, having his monstrous life in abomination, and perceyuyng the maiestie of the emperore to decap by his negligent and dissolute liwing and that there was no hope of remedie, obsecryng the tyme, he by lyttell and lyttell withdrawe hym into suche places, as he had of his owne, ferre from the citie, saynyng hym selfe to be greued with suche dysseases as dyd debilitate his wyttes, and therfore requyred to be farre from resorte of company and moche noyse, whiche beinge in the citie, he moughte not eschewe. This excuse the emperour Heliogabalus herd gladlye, as he that feared and also hated the grauitie and authoritie of Gordiane, and therfore lycenced hym to departe and remayne in the countrey, as longe as it lyked hym, thynkyng by his absence to be moxe at libertie, and to lyue moxe wantonly: So with the emperours fauour or rather foly, Gordiane quietlye and also pleasantlye passed the tyme that Heliogabalus lyued. And whan he herde of the deathe of that monstre, he wolde not retourne to the citie, but sent his consent of election to the senate, after that he knewe that by assent of the people, Alexander was named emperore. And whan he was required of the senate to come personally, he aggrauated his impediment, alledgyng syckenesse, although in dede, neyther in body nor wyt he was in any partie dysseased: but knowyng Alexander to be very yonge, and also coulson germanyn to Heliogabalus, he dyad in hym bothe the one & the other, fearing lest nature shulde prouayle again education, whan he shoulde come to an absolute libertie, and be out of the state of all correction. But soone after that

C.ii.

Alexander

THE IMAGE OF

Alexander was stablyshed in the empice, and that his vertues were commended and publyshed, Gordiane reiocyng therat, toke therof meruaylous confort. Albeit for his natuie grauitie and stately courte, he lyked not the assabilitie and familiaritie that Alexander vsed, nowe beinge the chiefe p<sup>r</sup>yne and souetayn gouernour of all the w<sup>o</sup>lde: wherfore o<sup>r</sup> he wolde make any accesse to his p<sup>r</sup>esence, he wolde p<sup>r</sup>oue his wysedome and vertue in admyttinge his counsayles, wherfore he w<sup>r</sup>ate in this w<sup>o</sup>lde vnto hym.

¶ NOBLE AND EXCELLENT p<sup>r</sup>ince, the fame of your aduaancement vnto the gouernaunce of the empice, was to me as it is vnto all the w<sup>o</sup>lde, moste joyfull tydypges, consyderyng the lamentable astate of our publyke w<sup>c</sup>ale, with the certayne hope that all men haue in you, being meued with your vertues incomparable, whiche dayly mo<sup>r</sup>e and mo<sup>r</sup>e ye do manifeste by your moste honorable example in lyuyng, declared to all that do beholde, not only your roial p<sup>r</sup>esone, but also your seruantes and familiar compa<sup>n</sup>ions. Among which vertues, your assabilitie and gentynes haue acquyzed no smal p<sup>r</sup>aise amonge the people, as commonly they delyte in swete countenaunce, and myldenes of gouernours, wherein they trusste to fynde mo<sup>r</sup>e lybertye. But most noble p<sup>r</sup>ince, altho<sup>ugh</sup> for these qualities, ye deserue p<sup>r</sup>aise and loue of your subiectes, yet in the imperiall maiestie requyzed to be a mo<sup>r</sup>e straunge countenaunce, and a feld and difficult accesse vnto your person, consyderyng that by the familiaritie of hym that is a mayster o<sup>r</sup> gouernour, as well eupyll men as good, do recepue boldnes to speke, and they whiche be eupyll, do busly assaut hym, either with

with flattery, or with detractyng of other, wherby  
princis, although they be of good natures, and well  
brought vp by their parentes, yet be they oftentimes  
transformed into monsters, that is to say, into beastly  
lyuers or rauenouse tyranes. I ompt contempt, whi-  
che induced by familiaritie, bryngeth the subiecte to  
disobedience. Let it not displease you, that I seeme to  
haue in your hyghnesse any suspition. Merly as a man  
that hath a faire and honest wife, wherby he is meued  
to loue her entierly, wold not haue her gladly stand in  
the market place, and admittte without discrepance e-  
uery manne equally, and with lyke pleasant counte-  
nance, suffer euery man to speake to her what he lyste,  
although he knoweth her to be vertuous and consta-  
nt as well for as moche as the naturall shamefastnesse  
that ought to be in a woman, may not admittte such  
open resort and cōmunication, as also the rates that  
be often assaulted, can not euer escape, but be they ne-  
uer so well fortifyed with wisedome, at the laste lyke a  
castell wall, they beinge soze shaken with many swets  
wordes and long entervieu, they yeld at the laste, pl cu-  
stome expellyng shamefastnes, and fynally all wiese-  
dome being rejected, and nothynge set by. Semblably  
moste excellent prince, your persone is to the senate as  
dere as the wyfe to her hus bande, and so, your fayre  
vertues we of good reason ought to be so ialous ouer  
you, that wyllyngly we shoulde not beholde you falle  
into any custome, whiche mought allure you into any  
pl disposition, remembryng the late calamitie that the  
cittie and empire were brought vnto by your most mo-  
strenous predecessor Martius Heltogabalus. wherfore  
lyke as now ye be to hym most contrarious in lyuing,

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So we desyre to haue you remembraunce al occasio, that mought  
gyue neuers so lytel a pathe for flatterers, detractours,  
and promoters of vice, to entre into your counsayle or  
fauour. Who can aduaunte hym selfe to be well assu-  
red from this nette of hypocrisie, whiche hath (as I  
mought say) sundry and dyuers mesches of flatteryng-  
ges, whiche vneth any man can escape that wyll tary  
vntyll the nette be cast ouer hym? The remedye than  
is eyther with maiestie to repell it, or to cut it asunder  
with sharp rebukes: and that in the presence of other-  
es so greuously to persecute alway those hypocrites,  
I do meane flatterers, with open punyshment, that al  
men may knowe & abhorrre them. And that other cherto  
by nature inclyned, may be euer aferde of lyke experi-  
ment. But the fyrest way is most sure vndoubtedly. For  
rebuke and punyshment commeth after the daunger,  
but maiestie precedeth, and therfore more profyteth.  
For suche persones rebuked or punyshed, perchaunce  
excusyng them selfe that they do it by to ardent affe-  
ction and desyre to please, or by their youth and lacke  
of experiece, or recognysing their foly, and promysyng  
amendment, may happen extsones to crepe into fauor  
and than they wokre their nette so fyndely, that it can  
not so sone be perceyued, and pytcheth it more couert-  
ly, applieng it aptly to their maisters condicions, so  
that it shalbe almost impossible for hym to escape, but  
that in one meshe or other he shall be tangld. Con-  
trarywise by maiestie (that is to saye, statelye counte-  
naunce and difficulte accesse) ioyned with wisedome,  
impresteth such reuerence, that men not only do feare  
to approche vnto their soueraygne lord, oneles they  
be called, but also to speake any thyng, whereby they  
beinge

beinge discoueted, shulde lose their credence, hopynge never againe to recover it, consyderyng that by maiestie and wisdom, the accesse to the prince is made impenetrable, sens to them that never offended he is so harde and diffuse to be spoken vnto. Thus to your maiestie haue I shewed myne opinion, wherfore yf by my counsayle ye do leaue your assabilitie, and familiar accesse, and imbrace grauitie and princelye astate, ye shall be sauage from the perylls that I haue remembred, and haue equal honour with your predecessorz, whiche wolde not be sene of the people but seldeome, and oftentimes with a courtayne before theyz visage, syttinge in theyz place of astate, whiche they toke of the Persianes. so thyngez seldeome seene be mooste esteemed: and they that be frequent and often in epe, be lyttell regarded, whiche as ye increase in age, and experiance, ye shal find true, and to be wryten of a faithfull counsaylour, that desyreteth the increase of your vertue, with the publike weale of our most noble citie and empire.

**C** The answere of Alexander to the letters of Gordiane. Capi. vii.

**W**HAN THE Emperour Alexander had receyued and radde the sayd letters of the senatour Gordiane, he seemed to reioyce more therat, than at all the honours and titles that were given him by the Senate and people, sayinge with a loude voyce: Yet there remayneth some hope in the publike weale, that it shall not bitterly perish, sens we haue Gordiane the Senatour lefte to assisse vs. And therwith he called for

**D** his

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h. stables, and immedately made to hym aunswere,  
as hereafter ensueth.

¶ GORDIANE hono;able father, howe moche bet-  
ter had the Senate and people of Rome prouyded for  
they; publyke weale, if they had taken you to be they;  
Emperour, hauynge regarde to your auncientie and  
excellent wylsdome, wher, in me they fynde nothyng  
but fayle youthe, and lacke of experiance, for onelye  
detestation of the negligence of my p;redecessour, with  
the desyre that I haue to increase vertue, hath sown  
of me suche opinion amonge the Senate and people,  
that not remembryng you (perchaunce for lacke of  
your presence) they haue inhabilled me to this estate  
aboue my merites. Verly no man douteth, but that  
ye being borne in the citie of a ryght auncient and no-  
ble house of the Romaines, as of your fathers syde issu-  
yng from the hono;able senatours called Gracchus,  
and by your mother descended from Traiane the em-  
perour, mought with that grauitie and sternes, whi-  
che is in you, as it were by nature ingenerate, and  
amonge the people of Rome, aboue forty yere in the  
p;ryncipall dignities experienced, inooste hono;ablye  
haue meynteyned the imperial maiestie. wher I be-  
inge borne a straunger, and my bloude (aloughtheit  
proceded of the noble house of Metellus) beinge to  
the moxe part of the senate and people vñknowen, am  
constrayned to auale that maiestie, that in you shulde  
be comendable, and in the stede of your grauitie and  
sadnesse, to bse towarde all men affabilitie and suche  
fourme of gentylnesse, whiche ye seene in me rather to  
prohibite than to dispayse, lest that my noueltie shuld  
reasle to be pleasante vnto the people, if by my char-  
nesse

ness or straunge countenance I shulde seeme to deceyue them in theyr opinion . Rememb're you not, that the haulte countenance and the difficulte accessse, whiche was in Tarquine the laste kynge Romaines, acquited to him that odious surname to be called Tarquine the proude: and althoughe that he were bothe valyaunt in warres, and in garnyshyng the citie very industriouse, yet whanne occasion and oportunitie hapned of rebellion, the people beinge broughte into fury, declared than howe moche more they hated hym than they dyd feare hym, ne had hym for his noble actes in any estimation or reuerence. Moreouer whan they hadde expelled hym out of the citie, to the intent they mought haue moche familiaritie accessse unto theyr gouernours, and fynd in them moche assabilitie, from thense forth unto the tyme of Caius Cesat, they vere-ly elected newe gouernours, calling them Consules, as it were counsailours: supposyng that in theyr time of auctorite, the remembraunce that they shoulde be priuate personnes the nexte yere folowynge, shulde cause them to use the people the moche famyliairly and also gentylly. And whan those officers beinge of long tyme chosen of the nobilitie onely, became in processe of tyme haulte mynded and sterne towardes the communaltie, the people with long sedition compelled the Senate to sygne at the last, with a noble man in that office one of theyr company.

¶ Julius Cesat with assabilitie, mercy, and gentylness became so puissaunt, that neyther the Senates auctorite, nor the prouesse incomparable of the great Pompei, nor yet the inexpugnable armes prepared agaynste hym, had power to resist hym, yet shortely

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after that he had decreed, that no man shuld appoche hym, and became in his countenaunce and wordes moze stately, he was slayne in the middell of the citie by fyfty Senatours onely.

**C**he great Alexander beinge so familiar and gentyl amonge his people, that he dyd not onely vysyte homely they; paulyans and halys, mynystryng to them al thyng that they lacked, but also suffred them to come to hym boldely, and often tymes to speake to hym crudely, he d<sup>r</sup>ue them with hym into the furthestre partes of the w<sup>r</sup>olde, into moste barayne and dange-rouse countrayes: and by moste gentyll perswasions vainquished nature, whiche abhorred the tedyouse iournayes, the trauayles intollerable, the vencious stinging of serpentes, the hungre and thyng that sundry tymes hapned, and other incommodyties and incredibl labours, whiche mought not withdrawe them from folowynge they; prynce, so moche his most amiable gentylnesse subdued they; appetites. But after that he folowynge the kynges of Persia (whome ye seeme to prayse in your letters) v<sup>s</sup>ed a moze pompose estate than he was accustomed, and neyther wolde beholde or speake to his people famlyarlye, nor suffer them to speake to hym freely, howe sone after, chaunged they than they; coppe: and as his affabilitie decayed, and pryde increased, so they; louynge affection towarde hym, in lyke wyse relented, whiche constrainyd hym to omittre part of his enterpryse, and retorne vnto Babylon, wherre amonge his frendes at a banquet, he was destroyed with yopson.

**C**he incomparable humanite and gentylnesse of noble Germanicus (who shuld haue succeeded Tibe-rius

rius in the empire, if the treason of Piso had not fru-  
strate the trust of the people) caused his sonne Caius,  
beinge yet in his cradell to be so fauored throughout  
the army, that they hauyng hym with his mother Ag-  
rippina among them, toke no lasse care for hym, tha-  
t he had ben propre sonne to euerche of them, which  
loue in suche wyse remayned, that immediately nerre  
after Tyberius, they made him emperor, who in the  
begynnyng of his reigne, vsyng the humanitie of his  
noble father, gouerned the empire quietly, as he that  
was meruaylously beloued of the people. But whan  
to aduaunce his maiestie, he became straunge, coun-  
terfaytynge his visage in a glasse into a terrible gra-  
uitie, couetyng to lerne fearefull vnto the people: and  
whan he was openly sene, which was but seldome, he  
sytyng in apparell all of golde, laded with iewelles,  
compelled the senate and people to worshyp hym, as  
god, howe sone after was his statelynes tourned into  
mockery, and he beinge of all men abandoned, was  
lyke an horrible monstre slayne, and drazwen throught  
the cytie.

Consyder the assabilitie and gentylnesse of the no-  
ble Augustus, Titus the sonne of Vespasian, Mervia,  
Traiane, Antonine called Pius, and Marcus Aure-  
lius, whom no man can derogate of any parte of ho-  
nour and wisedome, and see wher ye maye therwith  
compare any surdye grauitie, or haulte and straunge  
countenaunce of any other emperour or prince. Cer-  
tes Gordiane honourable father, he moche erreth (in  
myn opinyon) that preferreth feare before loue, with-  
out the whiche (wytnesseth Socrates) nochynge either  
with god or with man maye dure or abyde. Feare de-  
pendeth

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pendeth on loue, and without loue it is soone had in  
contempte. Suppose not ye, that he was a wyse man  
that sayde, Men whom they feare they hate, and whom  
they hate, they wolde were destroyed: Wysedom cau-  
seth men to be honoured, lyberalitie to be meruayled  
at, but gentylnesse and affabilitie onely to be hartyly  
loued. Grauitie procedeth of wysedom, and consisteth  
not in countenance, but is compacte of two vertues,  
Constance & Prudence. Wherfore it can neuer be cou-  
terfayte, if the actes be well expended and tryed. For  
where it lacketh, the said two vertues, it is either nice-  
nes and to be laughed at, or els pride outtagious and  
to be abhored and hated. But affabilitie can neuer be  
vicious. for though it be in one that lacketh discretiō,  
yet by lybertie of speche, whiche increaseth therby, he  
shalbe so oftentynes warned, that he shall defalcate  
that thyng that semeth superfluous. Ne the accesse of  
flatterers or detractours, to hym that mortally hateth  
them, can bynge any damage. For he is to moche a  
foole that wyll shew his brest naked vnto his enemy.  
And to him that is surely atmid, it is no peryl though  
his ennemy assaut hym, ye perchance if his enmy find  
hym invincible, he shall afterwarde be aferde to ap-  
proche hym.

**C**Thus haue ye fater Gozdiane, not onely myne o-  
pinion herein, but also my determinate sentence, not  
therby dispaysyng your honourable grauitie, whi-  
che for the causes that I haue reherced, is in your per-  
son right laudable, but in me, beinge not so well kno-  
wen in this citie amonge the Romans, whiche of their  
nature be free, and were neuer in seruitude, it semeth  
not to be so expedient. Albeit if I reygned in Persia,  
where

Quē mes  
tuunt o de  
runt, &  
quem odi-  
unt peris-  
se expe uit  
Eanius.

where the people from the begynnyng haue ben dest  
gouerned by tyranny, I wolde perchaunce otherwyse  
do, chaungyng assabilitie into strangenes and stately  
countenance, which tymeoprely (in myn opinyon) ye in  
your letters haue named Majestic. Thus fare ye wel,  
and haste you to returne vnto the senate, whiche with  
me desyret the presence of your excellent wysdome.  
Soone after the emperour Alexander, beinge elec-  
ted consul, he solycited the senate and people to electe  
also Gordiane into that offyce, affirmyng that his  
youth required for the vtilite of the publyke weale  
to be ioyned with suche a companyon as Gordiane  
was, whose wysdome, experiance, and grauitie, was  
of all men sufficiently known.

**C** The syrte practise of Alexander in reducynge of the empire  
into his pynstante honour. Cap. viii.

  
HE NOBLE AND prudente ladye  
Mammie, mother of the emperour Al-  
exander, consyderynge her sonne to be  
nowe entred into the moste dangerous  
passage of yOUTH, being but. xvi. yeres  
olde, feared leste the excellency of his astate (as it of-  
tentymes hapned to other) shulde incite hym to assay  
thynges, whiche frayle nature thynketh delectable,  
and tastynge ones of them, his tender yOUTH mought  
not withstand e the assautes of pleasaunt affections,  
wherby he mought estesones brynghe the empyre into  
ruine and infamy, and hym selfe and all his bloud to  
vtter destruction. Therfore she perceiving hym to be  
obedient to her exhortations, (in dede she was a wo-  
man of moche wysdome and holynesse, but that she  
was

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was somewhat noted of countys) she with good reson  
perswaded to hym, that he coulde never wel stablyshe  
his astate Imperiall, but onely by reducynge of the  
Senate and people into their prystinate order, whiche  
coulde never be brought to passe, except that fyfth his  
owne palacie were cleane purged of personages cor-  
rupted with vices, and into their places men of appro-  
ued vertue and wisedom elected. And semblably that  
to the example of the Imperours owne householde, the  
sundry dignities and offices in the weale publike were  
aptly distributed: consydering that the pryncis palacie  
is lyke a common fountayne or spryng to his citie or  
countrey, wherby the people by the cleannes therof be  
longe preserued in honestie, or by the imputenes ther-  
of, are with sundry vices corrupted. And vntylle the  
fountain be purged, there can never be any sure hope  
of remedy.

**C**wherfore Alexander immediatly after that he had  
receiued of the senate and people the name of Augu-  
stus, wherunto was annexed the entier power and ju-  
risdiction imperiall, wherby he mought commaunde  
or prohibite what he thought moste conuenient, fyfth  
he dyscharged all ministres, whiche the monstruouse  
beaste Heliogabalus hadde vndyscretely promoted of  
most vyle and dys honest personages, banyschyng also  
out of his palacie, al such as he mought by any mea-  
nes knowe, to be persones infamed. semblably flatter-  
ers, as well those, whiche therfore were fauoured of  
his predecessor, as theyn, whom he apprehended a-  
busynge hym with semblable falsehode. Accordaninge to  
that example he reformed the hole senate and iudges,  
and also all other dignities and offices in the publike  
weale.

weale. In lyke maner he purged his garrisons and  
men of warre, and corrected theit lyberties and priu-  
ileges, gyuen vndiscretely to theym by other empe-  
tours, or by them misused.

Moreover with all spedē convenient, by the advise  
of Alpiane his tutour, Frontinus, and oþer the wi-  
teste men of the Senate, he with all diligence elected  
out of all partes of the empire, a conuenient and ho-  
noorable company of wylle & honoorable counsaylours.  
This numbre were the mooste excellente lawyars, of  
whose sentences is made the teſte of the lawe cyuile,  
gathered in the bookeſ named the Digestes. There  
was also Fabius Gabinus, ſurnamed Cato for his  
ſingulare wyldeome. Also Gordiane, of whom I late-  
dyd wryte, a man of moche grauſtie and noblenelle,  
whose ſonne was afterwardē emperour. Moreover  
there was Claudio Venatus a noble and eloquente  
oratour. Also Catilius Scuetus, kinſeman to the em-  
perour, mooste excellently lerned aboue all oþer, Se-  
renianus a man of great perfectiō and grauſtie, And  
Catus Marcellus, who was of ſuch vertue and good-  
neſſe, that neuer hystoře remembred a better. These  
good and honoorable personages, with many oþer  
not of moche laſſe estimation, at all tynges and places  
attended vpon that noble Emperour: of the whiche  
Alpiane was in maner his chauncellour or keper of  
the imperiall monumēntes: And the Emperour had  
 hym for his cheſte counsaylour.

C

In

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**C**on what fourme the Emperour Alexander had his counsayle, whiche  
alwaye attened vpon his person. Cap. ix.

Bebius  
Macrinus



HE fourme of Alexanders Counsayle, was as hereafter ensuith. Fyrste all mat-  
ters & causes ciuile of great importance, he caused to be examined and brought in  
order by the great lawiars before rehersed  
of whom Alpiane was chiefe, and they made true re-  
pozte therof vnto hym. Moreouer he wolde neuer  
make decree or ordinaunce without. xx. lawiars sub-  
stanciall lerned, and fyfty other expert men and elo-  
quente, and that was done after this maner. Euerye  
mans opinion and sentence was throughtly and qui-  
etly herde, without interruption or altercation. Ther-  
to were assigned. viii. secretaries or clerkes, men of  
quicke and substanciall memory, who in brieke notes  
or siphers made for that purpose, wrate euery worde  
that by those counsaylours was spoken. Moreouer a  
competent tyme was gyuen to every counsaylour to  
studye, and secke for suche reason as he wolde pour-  
pose, to the intent they shulde not speake vnadvisedly  
in thynges of importaunce.

**C**It was also this Emperours custome, that whan  
he treated of lawes and matters poltyke, he called  
thereto lerned men, and suche as were eloquente and  
well reasoned. If he comonned of matters touchyng  
warre and hostilitie, he called to hym olde and expert  
capitaynes, whiche hadde valyantly acquited them  
selues in sundry battayles. Also theym that were ex-  
perte in the situation of places, pitchyng of fieldes,  
and p[re]paration of campes. He wolde also here dy-  
uerse,

uerse, whiche were perfectly and typelye instruced in histories, inserchynge by them what the Emperours and princis as wel Roinayns as of other nations before that tyme, had done in semblable causes, as were at that tyme in reasonyng. And after that all theyr opinions and sentences were wrytten, by the secretaries (as is before mentioned) and that they colfering to gether, had made therof one perfette minute of every mannes saynge, and deliuered it to the Emperour with as moche haste as was possyble: Than he in a place secrete perbysyng the mynute, and assemblinge and ponderyng the sentences throughtly, after a competent tyme therin bestowed, eyther gatheringe of them one perfette conclusion, or elles addyng to some thyng of his myntion, he fynally opened his concept amonge all his counsaylours, whom he had before harde, not withstandyng he gaue to them libertie, eyther to alowe his sentence, or if any man had any thyng newely devised, estimationes to declare it. And that sentence, whiche was of moste wylle men approued, that alwaye preuyaled, and he thereto consented, and caused it with al diligence to be put in experiance. For he was of such moderation of mynde, that no thyng more pleased him, than to here any man with a substanciall and crewe rayson to confute his oppynion: whiche caused hym to bryng to passe thynges to be metuayled at. But nowe wyl I declare the oration that he made in the Senate, after that he had sette in good order his owne propre householde.

C. 11.

The

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The oration of Alexander to the Senate. Ca.x.



THE INESTIMABLE maiesty of this empire (as ye well knowe honoorable fa-  
thers) lyke as it toke begynnyng and in-  
crease of p<sup>r</sup>owesse and politike wisedom,  
soo by the same and lyke meanes it muste  
be conserued. Our most noble progenitour and foun-  
der of this empire, the valiant Romulus being in his  
tender infancy caste out of the palacie, and nourished  
amonge the poore herdmen, with sustaynyng moche  
hunger, cold, & continual trauayle, achieued this lytel  
portion of grounde, wherin nowe standeth the p<sup>r</sup>yn-  
cipall ruler & mastresse of all the woldē. To the ayde  
of his p<sup>r</sup>owesse he added to, the quiet and vigilant stu-  
dye of rude shepardes olde and decreypte, whose bo-  
dys beinge macerate with labours, and made feble  
with age, although they mought nothynge profyte in  
battayle, yet they, wyttes beinge confirmed by longe  
experience, and free from the vexation of wanton af-  
fections, they no lasse aduaunced and set fo<sup>r</sup>th the en-  
terprise of the courageous Romulus, than dyd the di-  
ligence and p<sup>r</sup>owesse of his lusty souldiours. Neither  
his strength o<sup>r</sup> courage, ne the wyttes of his rude se-  
vantours became so excellent, as it seemed at that tyme  
to be, by feedynge superfluously, by beastely idelnes,  
o<sup>r</sup> wanton vashynes, but onely by temperaunce in ly-  
uyng, vigilant p<sup>r</sup>ouidence, and contynuall exercysse:  
wherby strength is nourished, and wyttes be increa-  
sed: Like as by the other the strength of body is resol-  
ued, and the wyttes be consumed o<sup>r</sup> vnp<sup>r</sup>ofytably di-  
spersed. And certes lyke as the sythe is proued to be  
true

true by the example before declared, and many other  
succedyng that tyme: so the last is semblably verifed  
by late experiance, and whereof the steppes yet do re-  
mayne to our no lytell grieve and displeasure: consi-  
deryng that therby this noble empes ts lyke to falle  
into extreme troupe, and perpetuall infamy, onelasse  
your mooste excellent wisedomes wyl diligently and  
constantly prepare your selfes to the certayne remedy  
agaynst this pecyll intollerable, whiche remedy onely  
shall be the purging and refourmation as wel of this  
mooste honourable company of senatours, as of all o-  
ther dignities and estates in the weale publyke. In  
the whiche inquisition we desyre none other pretoga-  
tive, but that it may take his sytter begynnyng at our  
proper palacie and householde, and in our owne per-  
sone to be sytter executed, to shittent that the pynncipal  
fountayne, beinge founde cleane, the remnant of our  
subjectes, whose order of lyuyng procedeth of our ex-  
ample as ryuers and sundry lakes from a hed spynge  
whiche is set on a mountayne, maye with lyttell diffi-  
culty be moxe easily purged. Noz other astate oþ pre-  
eminence wyl I require, but where youth refuseth in  
me the most reuerende name of fater of the countrey,  
whiche ye offred unto me, yet condescendyng to parte  
of your gentyll requestes, I wyl gladly receyue the  
names and titles of protectour of the senate and tri-  
bune, oþ els if better do lyke you, defender of the Ro-  
mane people. And on that behalfe, I require you, for  
the approbation of my sincere loue to the publyke  
weale, that accordinge to the auncient and laudable  
custome of this noble citie, ye wyl cause to be chosen  
Censores oþ correctours of maners, such personages  
as

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as never were infamed with any bycē notable, and whose lyues be inculpable, and therwith be sufficient-  
ly furnyshed with wysedom and grauitie, bōyde also  
of all p̄iuate affection, feare, auarpce, and flatterye,  
who lyke good surgeons, shal not forbeare with co-  
rosyue and sharpe medicines, to drawe out the festred  
and stynkyng cozes of olde marmolles and inuete-  
rate soozes of the weale publyke, ingendred by the  
longe custome in vice. To the whiche remedy, as a ne-  
cessary minister, I shall put to my propre handes and  
assistence vnto the dethe. Leauyng remembrance af-  
ter me, that in makynge me your emperour, ye nothing  
haue appaired of the impetral maiestie, but haue ad-  
uaunced it with the publyke weale of your citie.  
To the ratification of the whiche iudgement of you  
noble fathers, I shall apply holly my study, trauaple,  
and diligence, calling god to wytnesse, that the senatz  
and people of Rome, shall sooner fayle the publyke  
weale, than I shall leauue any part of my duetic.

**C**howe the correctours of maners, called Censoris, were es-  
lected, and with what rygour they executed their offyce  
by the commandement of Alexander. Cap. xi.



**H**E SAYDE oration of the emperour  
Alexander beinge synysshed, a wonder-  
full reioysing entred into the hartes of  
the senatours, whych were vertuous &  
honorable, and being replenished with  
ioye, they all spake on hygh with one bōyce, saying,  
**C**Emperour Alexander, god euer preserue the. God  
sent the vnto vs. God euer defende the. God hath de-  
lyuered the froine the vncleane Heliogabalus. God  
kepe

I am pris-  
dius.

kepe the perpetuallye. Thou dyddest longe tollerate  
that myscheuous tyrant, thou doest lament his abho-  
minable living. and at the last god hath deluyered the  
and vs also of hym, and to this hath brought the.

¶ After these and many mo congratulations made  
to the emperour, he gyuyng to the senate condigne  
thankes, departed to his palaice. And shortly after  
there were chosen by the cōmon consent of the senate  
& people, four Censores, two to remayne in the citie, &  
other two for Italy, & the prouinces vnder the name  
of latines: from whens were electe for the more part  
senatours, iudges, and other chiefe offycers, whiche  
had iurisdiction and authortie to gyue any sentence.  
The Censores for the citie were **Fabius Sabinus**, and  
**Catilius Seuerus**, men of excellent wylidome and  
grauntie. And for the prouynces were made **Quinti-  
lius Marcellus**, and **Caius Manlius**, men of aunci-  
ent nobilitie and great severitie.

¶ The office of Censores was to note the maners of  
euery person, whiche was in any degree of honour,  
that is to say, aboue the astate of the common people,  
wherin was shewed suche rygour, that no man was  
spared, so that if a knyght, a iuge, or a senatour, had  
vsed any vnseemely thyng, appayryng or staynyng the  
estimation of the degree, whch he represented, it was  
in the authortie of the Censores to degrade hym or  
dyscharge hym of his office or dignitie.

¶ Sone after the sayde election, they made **Alexan-  
der consul**: who with al diligence procured, that **Se-  
lius Gordianus**, of whome I late spake, was made  
his companyon in the Consulate, wherat some of the  
people grudged, fearynge leste the sturdynesse and  
haulte

Marius  
Maximus

Offyce of  
Censores.

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haulte courage of Gordiane, shulde chaunge the incomparable gentylnes of Alexander into crueltie and pypde: but it succeeded all other wise, for the wyse emperour, by the exquysite grauitie of his companyon, refourmed so his nature, whiche was in wyse mennes opinion moze easy and simple than appeteyned to the imperiall estate, that by all mennes iudgement he became in moderation of vertues of all other incomparable.

**C**h. The Censores immediately after that they were elected, viglyantly and shaply executed they offyces. For fyre they discharged oute of the Senate all suche whyche by Heliogabalus, for theyre abhomynable lyuynge or flatterye, were thereto p<sup>ro</sup>moted.

Semblably they pourged the order of knyghtchode, disgradyng all knyghtes, whiche were shameles lechours, maynteyners of theues, or they them selues robbers. In lyke wyse all those which of baudes, rufynges, carters, cookes, and other lyke reprochable persons were by Heliogabalus put in autho<sup>r</sup>ite. The same industry they vsed in refourmyng Judges, and other heed offycers, as well in the citie as about in the prouinces. Finally none astate or degree escaped their rebuke or correction. Ne the emperours palacie was exempt from their iurisdiction: In so moche as Iulius Philippus, who was sometyme a bondeman, notwithstanding that he was manumysed, and had ben the emperours scholmaister, and after whare his lyfe, for as moche as he dyd ryde in a chariot, and wold be saluted as a senatour, the Censores caused hym to be ladd<sup>e</sup> to pypson, and prohypyted hym for compnyng to the emperours palacie, but onely on foote, and his copped

copped cappe on his head, whiche fassion onely was  
vsed of them that were intranchised. And althoughe  
for his good letnyng and honestie, some noble men  
aduised the emperour, that he shulde require the Cen-  
sores, that they shoulde withdrawe theyz rygour in  
correctynge Phlippe, consyderyng that he had ben  
sometyme his scholemaster: He nothyng wolde doo  
to let or restrayne the sharpe correction of the Censo-  
res, but moch extollynge theyz constance, he answered:  
If the common weale maye haue euer suche officers,  
in shorte space there shall be founde in Rome mo men  
worthy to be Emperours, thanne I at my commyng  
founde good Senatours.

And immediately he ordyned, that there shoulde  
neuer lybertine, that is to saye, any man of a bonde  
auncetour be of the Senate, sayinge: That the order  
of kyngthode was the place frome whence were fet-  
ched the plantes of the Senate, that is to saye: frome  
whense the Senatours were elected. Not with stan-  
dynge he purchased a goodly mancion, with suffici-  
ent revenues, not ferre frome Rome, whiche he gaue  
to the sayde Phlippe, sayinge to hym: Before I was  
Emperour, I disdeyned not to folowe thy doctryne:  
Nowe be thou as well contented, for the increas of  
my honour & of the weale publike, to obey to myn or-  
dynance. And although the maestie of the Citie may  
not permitt the to be openly receyued in the numbre  
of our familiars, yet priuy resorte shall approue our  
fauour towardes the, not loste, but increased.

Of suche ineruaylous seueretyng was this Empe-  
rour, that noo kynde of affection or ppyuall appetite  
mought reflecte hym frome the sharpe execution of his

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lawes or lawdable customes of the rite, as moxe per  
shall appere in the chapter folowynge.

¶ Of the great prudence of Alexander vsed in the election of his  
counsaylours and offycers. Cap. viii.

**T**OF TEN tymes hapneth, that wher  
god dothe ornate a prynce with naturall  
gyftes, and also great vnderstanding and  
sharpenesse of wytte, he for lacke of electi-  
on (whiche is a greate parte of Prudence)  
hauyng about hym counsayllours, companions, and  
officers vnmete or unworthy, maketh the sayde orna-  
mentes vnproufitable, or peraduenture uncommodious  
to the weale publyke, wherof he hath gouernance,  
wherby the renoume, whiche were condigne, and as it  
were incident to rare and excellente qualites, is loste  
and dyeth with the body, or els (whiche is moche warse)  
is tourned to perpetuall reproche and dishonour: whi-  
che the Emperour Alexander circumspectlye consyde-  
derynge, he with an incomparable studye prepared  
for hym selfe certayne rules of election, as hereafter fol-  
loweth.

Rules  
wherby a  
Prynce  
shulde es-  
pect coun-  
saylours.

¶ Syrste he determinyd to loue all, that was vertue,  
and to hate all, that was vrece, in what person so euer  
the one or the other shulde happen.  
¶ Also what so euer pleasure or commoditie mought  
come to hym by embracyng or tolleratyng of any no-  
table vrece, he wolde rather lacke it, thoughe it were  
to his detryment, than to be seene to chaunge his op-  
nion, lest any man shuld therby take occasyon to com-  
mende vrece.

¶ And

¶ And so; as moche as vnder his Empire were dy-  
uerte and sundry nations, whereof also the people by  
naturall disposition be dyuersely inclyned to vertue or  
vice, he therfore applyed hym selfe to knowe the sundry  
wyttes, maners, affectes, and studyes of men, boþne  
in euery region countrey and notable cite, throughout  
the woldē: whiche knowledge he apprehended soo ex-  
quisitely, as wel by studiouse readinge of many histo-  
ries and other notable markes of morall philosophye,  
as by dylygent examyninge of capptaynes, and mar-  
chauntes, whiche had trauayled and benne in sundry  
countreys: wherby he was wonderfully holpen in his  
elections and iugementes, as it shal hereafter appere.

¶ He wolde neuer accepte commendation of any per-  
sonne, before that he hym selfe had spoken with hym,  
and that by secrete scrutiny he had ben truely insour-  
med of hym. And yet the commendation that he wolde  
afterwarde here, shulde be a parte, none other manne  
herynge, but hym selfe, leste if manye were presente,  
and he that commended were in auctorite, other he-  
rars althoughe they knewe the contrary, shuld cyther  
assayne a false commendation, or elles feare to saye  
truthe, if they shulde be therof demaunded.

¶ In them that were counsaylours, he utterly abhor-  
red ambition and flattery. In iudges, he hated with  
extreme detestation couetyce and wrathe. In boþe the  
one and the other he loued Syncerytie, vulgarly cal-  
led vprightnesse. Sinceritie.

¶ The perfecte knowledge of mennes conditions, he  
had not by the reporte of theyþ superiours or equalles,  
ne by them whiche dwelled farre from the habytation  
of those whom they praysed, but by the examynation

ff. ii. of

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of they; nyghest neyours, being men of honesty, and not they; ennemys. And that was practised by suche of his owne yemen as were moste auncient and sage: whiche syndyng occasion to ryde throught the countreys, where they were neyther borne nor had posses- sions, shulde make this dyligente scrutiny or serche. And to suche maner of personnes the common people wold more familiarly and playnely declare they; op- tions than to gentylmen or men in auctoritie. But if the Emperour perceyued afterwarde, that he had ben vntruely informed by any of his sayd espialles (whi- che sometymes he dyd by further experiance, as being in his progresse, or hym selfe herping and discussyng complayntes of the common people openly and with a great delyberation and grauitie) he than extremely and without hope of remission, punyshed the false re- porters, were it in prayse or detraction: causyng their tunges to be perceid throughte with a hotte brennyng iron, and to be bannished his courte and presence for euer. Whiche punishment, althoughe it wyll seme to some men soe and cruel, yet consyderyng, that vsing this meane, he was never deceipted by counsaylours, and also that Justice was dewely executed by theym that were in auctoritie, that maner of rigour maye be thoughte necessary and very expediente. Also the pu- nyschemente beinge in a fewe executed at the begyn- nyng, the seueritie of the prynce became so tertyble, that men so greuously feared hym, that neyther de- syre, rewarde, nor dreade of any other man coulde let the sayde espialles to reporte trewelye, accordaninge as they had founden by they; diligent scrutiny.

**C**One meruaylous catell he vsed, that is to saye:

**One**

One man was not oftentimes in that truse of espy-all. And those personages were chosen and appoynted onely by hym selfe, without makynge any other man pruie, vntil he had deprehended them with some maner of falshode.

**C**ynallye he was of suche a wonderfull discretion and sobernesse, that no reporte coulde bryng him out of pacience, or into suspition, vntyll he had well tryed the reporte with some praty experiance, as it shall be declared hereafter.

**C**and thus I make an ende of the fyfthe partie of his gouernance, whiche was in orderynge of his owne person and courte: wherby principally he broughte not onely the citie of Rome but also al the hole empire (not withstandinge the beastely lycence brought in by Heliogabalus) in as good estate as euer it was in the tyme of any of his mooste noble progenitours.

**C**howe extremely Alexander hated extorsioners and brybours, and howe moche he favoured theym that were vertuous. Cap. viii.

**T**HE EMPEROVR Alexander had suche indignation towardes theym that were extorsioners or brybours, that yf by chance he espyed any of them, he was therwith so grieved, that he immedately wolde vomite vp colat, and his face beinge as it were on a fyre, of a longe tyme mought not speake one worde. On a tyme one **S**extinius Arabinus, who in the tyme of Heliogabalus was a famous brybour, came in the company of **S**enators, to salute the empetur Alexander, who holdingyn hym sayde with a lowde voyce: **O** lord god,

**f. iii. beholde,**

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behold, Arabinus not only lyueth, but also p̄esumeth to be in the senate. peraduenture he trusteth in me, iudgyng me to be an ignorant and folyshe emperour.

¶ Moreover he ordeined, that where there were fōuden any extortioners, or b̄ybours, that they shuld be openly examined and iudged, and by the gouernours of countayes sente into exyle. Whan he was in his progresse, such as were gouernours or Justyses in prouynces, whom he herde worthily cōmended without synister affection, he wolde in his tourneye take them into his hōselyghter, cōmuning with them of the state of their countrey, and honouryng them with rewardes, saying, That lyke as extortioners and b̄ybours are to be impouerished, so good men and iuste are to be encyched.

¶ In heryng the complayntes of his souldyours agaynste their capitaynes, if he founde any capytayne faulty in that thing, wherof he was accused, forthwith he caused hym to be punyshed after the qualitie of his offence, without any hope of remyssion. Semblablye dyd he to his souldyours and seruauntes. So where they iustly greued any persone, he corrected them sharply, and with a meruaylous austeritie.

¶ To one of his secretaries, whiche forged an untrue byll in his counsayle, he cōmanded the synewes of his syngers, wherwith he dyd write, to be cutte, and so to be vtterly banyshed. Wherefore he was called Deuterius, whiche is as moche to say as sharpe or rigorouſ: for ſeueritie is rygour in punyſhement, accordyng to the qualitie of the offence, hauyng respecte to a good purpose, without any desyre of vengeance. And it is that parte of Justyce, that conſysteth in execution:

the

the commendation wherof shall appere in the nexte  
chappyter.

**A**n notable exampel gauen by Alexander in repreyng an  
ambicious and vaynglorious counsaylour. Cap xiii.



**S V P P O S E I T** shall not be tedious to  
good men to here one incomparable exam-  
ple of the seueritie of this metuaylous em-  
perour, whyche although it shall seeme to  
many that shall here it, to be ouer vehement  
and greuous, yet in readyng the chapiter nexte folo-  
winge, it shalbe sufficiently declared by the wordes of  
the same emperour, that his sayd rygour in iugement  
was necessarlye vsed, and with equalytie in iustyce,  
deseruynge in no parte to be reprehend, but nowe wyll  
I reherte the sayde story.

**T**here was abouthe the sayde Emperour a man of  
great honour called Metronius Turinus, whome for  
his great wytte and sageres in apperance, the empe-  
rour had in syngulat fauour, in so moche as he called  
 hym to his priuye counsayle, and vsed to be with hym  
more famlyar than he was comonly with any other,  
 whiche so moche blynded the inward eye of Turinus,  
 that he coulde not se in hym selfe, whych he not longe  
 before had condemned in other. suche incomparable  
 swetenes is founde in the familiar company of princis.  
 wherfore lyke as whan the companions and seruan-  
 tes of Ulysses had eaten abundantly of the herbe cal-  
 led Lotos, the taste therof was so pleasant and mer-  
 cuaylous, that all that eate therof, forgettyng their  
 owne propre countrey, coueted to remayne styll in that  
 region, where that herbe grew, and but only by vio-  
 lence.

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lence they coulde not be broughte to their shypes, to retourne to their propre houses: semblably Curinus after that he had ben with the emperour in an inward and secrete familiartie, he founde it so pleasant, that for gettyng from whence he was callyd, and takynge lyttell hede of any other parte of his offyce, he put his hole study and delectation to augment the oppnion of men, that thought that the emperour wolde nothyng do, without his aduyse, wherby he shulde be magnyfied and honoured aboue all other of the emperours counsaylours. And therfore he had contynuall suite made vnto hym, as well by them that had sutes to the Emperour in their particular causes, as others that loked for offyces or great promotions. To euery man a parte he wolde promyse his fauour, and therfore receyued great rewardes & presentes. but synally whom he knewe that the emperour had preferred in offyce, or anye thyng determinyd in his iuste cause. (for that moughte he knowe beinge with the Emperour so secrete, although the good emperour dydde nothing by his perswasion only, but by prudent aduyse and good delyberation, as it shall hereafter appere) on hym wolde he becke, if he were in the chamber. And often tymes in a day he wolde come from the emperour into the chaumber of presence, or place, where suiters awayed, and of whom he had receyued money, to them wolde he say, that he had remembred them, and in their request or matter received good comfort, whan in dede he spake not therof one word. Synally by the colour of this familiart and secrete recourse that he had to the emperour, he gathered moche treasure: but at the last dyuers, and in great numbre, to whome he hadde promyse

promysed that thyng that they sued for, not withstan-  
dync they receiued nothing in conclusion but noddes  
with the heed, founde them selfes deceyued, and they  
great somunes of money baynely employed, wherat  
they mutmured and partly meued with disdayn, part-  
ly with pouertie, they brast forth at the last into man-  
fest grudgyng, whiche came to the emperours eare,  
by what meanes I knowe not, but suche abuses can  
not be longe hydde frome pryncis, that haue their ea-  
res perforate (as is the prouerbe.) Whiche the empe-  
rour herynge, he was meued with metuaylous disple-  
sute, consyderyng that Turinus, whom he had in soo  
great estimation, abusyng his persone, in saynyng  
hym to be his pupyl or servant, had told his determin-  
ations & sentences, wherby he had defamed his ma-  
iestie in that that Turinus had brought me in belefe,  
that the emperour dyd nothing (but as it were) at his  
onely becke and comandement. whiche opinion to re-  
belle he vsed this polycie. He caused one to defyre a  
thyng of hym openly, and afterwarde to sue to Turi-  
nus priuily to helpe hym in his demand, and secrete-  
ly to meue the emperour for hym, whiche beinge done,  
and that Turinus had promysed his good wyl to him  
that sued, and sone after saying, that he had somewhat  
meued the emperour therin, where in dede he speake not  
therof any one wode, and that he abode an answere  
therof, wherupon he received of the sayd suter a great  
summe of money. whiche the emperour knowyng, he  
caused hym to calle estesonnes on Turinus, but he as  
yl he hadde in hande other busynesse, onely beckened  
on hym without speakyng any thyng to hym. for in  
dede the Emperour hadde gyuen to all other that

G thyng,

THE IMAGE OF

thyng, whiche this man sued for, whiche grudginge therat, discouered openly what Turinus had of hym receyued: that knowyng the emperour, he caused Turinus immediately to be arrested, and openly in his presence to be accused, whiche was done by a greate numbre, whom he had also deceyued, takyng of them great summes of money for offyces, and other thynges, whiche they never obteyned. Wherefore after that Turinus was condemned by sufficient and credyble wytnesse, in whose presence he had receyued this brybery, and in whose herting he had effectually promised, he was iudged by the emperour, to be ladde into the open market place, where moste resort was of the people, and there beinge bounden to a stake, with smoke made of grene styckes and wete stubbell, to be smouldred to deathe. and duryng the tyme of his execution, the emperour comauanded a bedell to crye, with fume shal he dy, that fume hath sold. But to the intent that men shuld not think that for one offence the iugement was to cruel and rigorouſ, or euer Turinus was condemned to die, the emperour made diligent serche, & by evident proffes it was founden, that Turinus had often & in many causes, receyued money of both partes, promysyng to aduaunce theyr cause to the emperour. Moreover to prove the leueritie of this emperour laudable, it shalbe declared in the chapter next folowing,

**C** The consultation concernyng the punishment of Turinus, and the excellent reason of the emperour Alexander. Cap. xvi.

**I**N THE MEANE tyme that Turinus was accused, and before his condemnation, the Emperour Alexander accordyng to his customable usage, gaue conueni-

conuenient time to his counsaylours to delyberate by  
them selues, or euer that they gaue any sentence, what  
punishment shulde be equall to the offence of Turin-  
tus, and necessary for an example to other, that they  
presumed not to do the semblable. After whan the  
counsayle was called, euerye man was commaunded  
to declare his opinion: Some raysoned, that the o-  
pen rebuke with sufficient satisfaction vnto the par-  
tie, shulde be a conueniente punishment: Other ad-  
dyd to impyslonnement for a certayne tyme: dyuerse  
wolde that he shuld be banished farre from the court:  
many assaymed with vehement argumentes, that he  
deserued to be beheaded, consydering that in abusing  
the emperours mestie, in sellynge greate offyces to  
persons vnworthy, he had put the publyke weale in  
no lyttell hasarde. The emperour aduisedly hetyng  
all theyr opinions, laste of all, as it was his maner,  
reasoned in this wyse, as hereafter foloweth.

**M**y trustye and well beloued counsaylours, we  
haue hitherto attentyfely herde and througheley con-  
sidered your wyse and honourable sentences, declared  
with free and vncorrupted myndes, althoughe by the  
diuersitie of your naturall inclynations, your sundry  
reasons seeme to haue noo lyttell dyuersitie, as it hap-  
neth in al consultations, wherin diuerser men do shew  
theyr conceiptes freely without feare of blame, as I  
doubte not but ye do. Not withstandyng for as moch  
as heryng all your opinions and reasons, I haue my  
wytte the better instructed to fynde oute and declare  
(except I be deceyued) what shulde be the mooste expe-  
dient and necessary punishment of Turintus, for the  
offences whiche he hath commyted, wherin ought to

G.ii. be

## THE IMAGE OF

be noo lasse severitie (as I wyll p̄suue with good rea-  
son) than if he had attempted to haue slayne me, or to  
brenne this mooste noble citie of Rome, the honorable  
mansion of goddes, & common refuge of al the wrold.  
Fyſt ye rememb̄e, that ye chace me to be your gouer-  
nour, not onely for the nobilitie of my p̄ogenitours,  
ne for theyz images or monumentes of thankefull re-  
membraunce, ye, rather for the beastely and most abo-  
minable lyfe of Helyogabalus, my couſen getinayn,  
ye had more cause to refuse me: neyther ye made me  
your Empereour and p̄ince for the goodlynesse of my  
person, or p̄owesse shewed by me in your warres: I  
beinge yet for tendernesse of age vneth able to do fea-  
tes of armes, moche lasse to leade an armyn, ſpeciallye  
ſuch one as perteyneth to this noble empire. But true  
lye it was for the good estimation & hope that ye had  
in the towardenesse of myne education and nature,  
thynkyng it to be aptely diſpoſed to vertue, wherin  
beinge broughte vp in chylhode, I oughte to haue al-  
way about me, ſuche as be of lyke diſpoſition, and by  
theyz diſtrefte and couſayle, to moderate and rule the  
publyke weale of this citie. It oughte therfore to be  
kepte in remembraunce, that as I haue ſayde, by the  
good opinion and hope that all men haue conceyued  
of me, this publyke weale, whiche beinge ſubuerted,  
I founde as none, I haue reedified (and be it ſpoken  
without boſte) almoſte made newe from the founda-  
tion. Than if he that infoiſeth hym ſelfe to brenne the  
houſes, or to beate downe the walles of the Cittie, by  
good iuſtice and reaſon ſhuld ſuffer deathe: by a mo-  
che greater reaſon ought Titinus to dye, that hath  
indeuoured hym ſelfe to ſubuerte and deſtroye that,  
wherby

wherby the publyke weale as wel was begonne, as is also p̄eserved, consyderynge that the publyke weale in estimation is to be preferred before the materiall citie, as moch as the lyfe of man and renoume of vertue be of moze value than ston or timber, wherwith the walles and houses be buylde. And therfore Aristotle, in defynynge what is a <sup>Citie.</sup> Citie, doth not cal it a place buylde with houses, & enuironned with walles, but saith, that it is a company, which hath sufficiencie of living, and is constituite or assembled to the intent to lyue wel, wherfore it is the people and the weale of theym that maketh the citie. And the destruction and subuersion therof, oughte with moze rigour and behemente punishment, to be reuenged, if moze sharpe punishment maye be than deathe, than brennyng and beatyng downe of materiall houses or walles.

This well and deepeleye consydered, it shall not be thought, that they that haue reasoned for the mitigation of Turinus punishment, had before in remeidence and sufficiencie examyned the grevousenesse of his offence, accordyng as I haue declared it, but only considered his bare act without any circumstaunce. But yet the treason doone also to me, aggrieueth the trespass. Is it not treason, to conspire the destruction of thy soueraygne lord, most of al, of whom thou art entierly fauoured, and put in great trust. Is there any diuersitie betwene the stichyng of hym with a daggar, or kyllyng hym with poysone, and by some circumstaunce to cause his people to rebelle agaynst hym, & in theyr furtis to sice hym? who comparynge to gether the sourme and maner of these offences, wyll not suppose it reason, that the punishmentes therfore, shulde be

6. iii. moche

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moche more vehement and sharpe than for any other transgression, sense justice luniteth equall punishment in proportion, accordyng to the importance, that is to saye, The greatnes or smalnesse of the offences.

**C**howe let vs consyder the qualitie or substance of Tetricus myldeemeanour. In the tyme of the emperour Seuerus and Caracalla, he was in smalle estimation, but after that I was elect emperour, he crastily smellynge out my disposition, by lyttell and lyttell acquaynted hym selfe with some of those, of whome for their vertues I had best opinion, and counterfaytyng their maners, he at the last so aptly set forth such grauitie, whiche he adourned also with a wonderfull sharpenes and promptitude of wytte, that he opteyned to be hyghly recommended vnto me by the wisest men of my counsayle, by whose aduise syr I made hym one of my treasoreys. Fynally I called hym nere me, and made hym of my prypye counsayle, wherein we founde hym so necessary, that in our opynyon his sentences were equiualent, and sometyme surmounted them that had ben in mooste estimation. And to the intent that he wold augment that opinion and credence that we had in hym, he euer vised a great seueritie or straytenes in his sentences agayne flatterers, dissemblers, and persones corrupted, namely suche as solde their endeour or diligence in optaynyng our fauour in any matter or for any offyce. And by his industrie dyuerse were detected vnto me, and punylshed according to their merites. For these causes I more & more toke hym in fauour, and to incourage other to ensue his example, I dydde aduaunce hym as ye knowe, to the hyghest dignities within the citie, except the consule

ful, & haue participate with hym our mo<sup>st</sup> priu<sup>te</sup> secre<sup>tes</sup>, b<sup>r</sup>ing hym so familiarckly, that dyuers other of our counsaylours haue partly disdayned. Howe beholde what he hath done. If p<sup>r</sup>ste he hath deceyued and moc<sup>ke</sup>de vs with his hypocrisy, abusyng our simplicitie and wykyngge our fauour, and not our fauour only, but also our credence & trust, wherby he wrought final<sup>ly</sup> wo<sup>r</sup>ke to his priuate comoditie, and to our confus<sup>i</sup>on. So; he being with vs in such familiaritie as none other was, he practised those thynge<sup>s</sup> that we most abhored, that is to say extorsion, sellynge of tyghte and w<sup>ro</sup>ng, and marchandysyng of offyces and dignities. To whome is extorsion or brybes not greuous & al<sup>th</sup>ough the gyuer receyued great lucke. Is there any thyng to be more abhored than sellynge of Justyce, whiche knoweth no reward. Howe moche more intolerable is the sellynge of iniustice or w<sup>ro</sup>ng. wherby the one part suffreth damage by sustaiming of w<sup>ro</sup>ng, the other is moche indamaged by lesyng<sup>e</sup> of his good name and also his money, if it happen, as it hath done oftentymes, by a good & rightuous gouernour, that he whiche hath done w<sup>ro</sup>ng, be compelled to make restitucion: But principally and above all other am I moche indamaged. So; I b<sup>r</sup>aves & innocent being brought into the hairede of men, shulde be distroyed before that I mought knowe that I were in perylle. Now consider ye the im<sup>port</sup>ance of Tullius offence, conferryng it with al that whiche I haue rehersed, & by the way rememb<sup>r</sup>e that not only vs that sleeth his p<sup>r</sup>yne, or depopulat<sup>e</sup>th his countrey, and maketh it desolate, but also he that conspireth to do it, and ther<sup>e</sup> an endeuor<sup>e</sup>th hymselfe with al his puissance, though he

THE IMAGINED

he be let by some occasion or studie, deserueth to dye by the determination of Justice dyctibutife. By what meane he wolde do it, it is not material: except peraduenture some man mought suppose, that the acte were more odious of hym that procurid the people to distroy their owne prince w<sup>t</sup> countryp, whome they are bounde by allegiance & duetie with al their power to defende, than of hym that do sollicite strangers or ancient enemis, to inuade his countrey. Finally if any common person, never receyving of me any benefite wolde reporte in the eares of people, that I wente aboute to chaunge the estate of the weale publyke of this noble citie, to sive all the senatours, to withdrawe the people from their ancient liberties, and finally to bring the matessie of the emperte into a tyrannie, and by suche false information exycteth and shypeth the Senacie and people to hate me, and couete my destruction: Riche one proposed at the last to haue said falselie, I beleue he woldenot thynde briefly to wryte to dye, but ye wolden with your owne handes dysmembrye hym, and plucke hym in pieces. Wher shulde you nor than thynde, that Turinus, whome I mooste fauoured, and was about me mooste secretely, not by reportyng eupill of me, (whiche perchance woldenot be beleued) but by actuall dedes and openye, commyngynge iniustice, and tyrannie, in mayntaynyng, suppoynge, and comforayng wronges, extorciions, oppressions, and other enormities agaynst the weale publyke, also aduancynge eupill and vngtatioun personages to dyggnities and offyces, whereby iustice ought to be mynistered, and the publyke weale governed, and by these meanes quenchynge the good opynyon and loue that

all

all men had toward me, and chakingyng it to a feruent grutche & hatted, they chynkyng that Curinus dyd al thyng by our apointmet, syre the hartes of the people agaist me: why shuld ye not I say, think, that such one hath deserued to dye? And as he was with vs in syngular fauour and trusse; and therin lyke to none other: so ought his deathe to be syngulare and strange, that by the noueltie thereto it maye be more terryble, wherby other may feare from hensforche to abuse in suche maner out assabilitie, which beinge in vs natural, without such a munition can not be sure and safelie preserued. And so this our sentence no man ought so deme vs cruell, or to lacke mercy, if he consider diligently al that we haue spoken. And do also remembret, that to kepe an infinite numbre of men from the sygour of Justyce, I spare not to execute the same rigour on hym, whom I specially fauoured.

¶ After that the emperour had cōcluded in this wise his reson, there was no man offred to reply thereto, percepuyng hym rather meued with zeale than with any particular displeasure, and to say the truthe, whan they had pondered his consideracions, not syndyng suffycient argument to confound his opinion, fynally they all being in numbre syfty wise and honourable counsaylours, reioyced that they had soo wylle and vertuouse an emperour, whiche preferred Justyce and the weale of his people, before any priuuate affection or singuler appetite. Then immediatly folowed the execution of Curinus, whiche was appoynted by the Emperour, in fourme as ye herde it declared in the laste Chappter.

H. Howe

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Chesire Alexander instructed and enterayned them that were  
officers, and of his sybrazytic towarde them that  
dydde well thayre duellis. Cap. vii.



OT VVITN STANDYNG the se-  
ueritie of this noble emperour in the  
sharpe punishment of oppressions, ex-  
toxicons, and other offences of sem-  
blable importance, yet was he toward  
suche as iustlye executed their offyces,  
for the publyke weale, very fauourable, gentyll, and  
bounteous. For if any of theym hadde pccaduertise  
at the begynninge of fyrist entre into his couine of au-  
toritie, vsed lassie diligence, or omittid some thynge  
that he ought to haue doone, eyther for lacke of expe-  
rience, or hausing not therin sufficient instruction, for-  
sene alway that he dyd nothyng by corruption of vyp-  
cious affection: the Emperour calyngge suche one to  
hym pypulynge and aparte from all other, fyrist he wolde  
rememb're hym for what cause he hadde called hym to  
that couine of authoritie, the importaunce of charge  
wherof he wolde also declare, and than wolde he som  
what commend hym for his honesty and temperance,  
wherwith he wolde confesse hym selfe to be satisfied,  
accoydng to his expectation, than sadlye and with a  
wonderfull grauitie, he wolde admonest or warn him  
of his lacke in diligence or in omission, shewing what  
damage the publyke weale wrought sustayn, by lacke  
of his circumspection, and without that, their vertues  
shulde be vnyprofytale to their offyce of dignitie. Af-  
ter wolde he exhorte and require them with gentyll  
countenance and wordes, to vse more studye and cra-  
nyle aboute the affaires of the weale publyke, com-  
mynited.

mytted vnto them, promysyng to them for their good endeouour, his assystance & fauour with honest recom-  
pence in the ende of their trauayles. Moreouer al-  
though he were thus industrious in expyenge out the  
demeanour of every man in his office, yet wold he not  
suffre any other person to rebuke or to scorne theym,  
sapeng, that where any obedience is due, thense ought  
to be excluded al rebukyng or mockyng, consyderyng  
that therof ensueth contempt, which like a pestilence con-  
sumeth all lawes and authoritie: And that he and the  
senate were iuges of the duties of them that be in au-  
thoritie. Also he vsed to say of certaynes, that it hap-  
peth sometyme, that they, whiche be slacke in their du-  
ties at the begynnyng, after that they haue ben moni-  
shed therof, eyther by their frendes, or by the goodnes  
of theyr propre wittes, they haue ben industrious and  
diligent. Contrary wise other, which at the synt haue  
ben quyck, with a meruaylous dexteritie and prompt-  
nes, they haue by lytell and lytel relected, and hauing  
gathered good estimation & abundance of substance,  
haue withdrawen them selues from peynful affaires,  
and at the last be to no man but onely to them selues  
profytale.

**C**rohau any man had exercised his offyce duely, by-  
tyghely, and circumspectly in the publike weale, at the  
ende of his terme, whan there was a successour vnto  
 hym being present appoynted, than wolde he say vnto  
 hym that departed oute of his offyce. The publyke  
 weale quench to you right hartly thakkes. Wha wold he  
 reward hym in such wise as being priuate he mought  
 according to his degree, haue the more honestly. His te-  
 mende was in lande, cattel, houses, grayne, yron, ston,

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and other thynges necessary to buylde a comyndous place, wherin after greate travayle aboure the weale publyke, he moughte refreshe bothe his body and sp̄rites. And euer after the emperour had hym in mooste tender famyliaritie.

The empe-  
rour's dis-  
gence in  
knowyng  
mens qua-  
litie.

**C**Verily in one thyng he vsed an incomparable diligēce, wherein he surmounted in myne oppynion all other emperours. There was no man in dignitie or offyce, eyther by the assygnement of the senate, or by his commyssyon, but that he knewe his persone, and fourme of lyuyng. And that moche more is, he had in his chamber bylles contaynyng the nūmbrē of theym, whiche were his souldiours in wages, and also euery one of their names, and what tyne they had serued. And whan he was by hym selfe quiete frome great af-faires, he per vsed the nūmbrē of them, their dignitie wages and fees, to the intent that he wolde be for all occasions surely prouyded. And therfore whan he had any thyng to do with his souldiours, he named eu-  
ry man in his communycation: and whan they were present, he called theym vnto hym. And whan he was sollicited to promote any person, he marked his name, and than wolde he serche his bokes of remembrance, wherin were the names of them that had serued hym, with the tyme of their seruyce, also their rewarde or promotion, and at whose request, or by whose solicita-  
tion they were promoted.

**C**On offyces he selboune lusted to be amy deputies, sayinge, They onely shalde be aduaunced, whiche by them selues and not by deputies could order the pub-  
lyke weale. addyng thereto, that men of warre hadde their ministrations, and learned men their, and accor-  
dynge

dyng ther unto shulde comis be disposed, that every man shulde do that thyng wherof he had mōl knoledge. He had therfore wrytten wherof he had gyuen, and that remembryng, if he founde any man, to whom he had ryght gryuen no thyng, or that whiche in value was not equall vnto his merites: he called hym, and sayde, what is the cause that thou askest no thyng of me: desyrest thou to haue me thy dettowr: Alke somwhat, that lackyng p̄romotion, thou complayne of me. He gaue alwaye suchē change as imparied not his honour, as goodes of men attayned, nor beinge in golde or siluer, for that was alwaye put in the comon treasōrpe. Also he gaue baylywikes and ryles of places ciuite, but neuter of warre, excepte it were to them whiche were experte and approued true capitaines. Receptours he chaunged euery yere, and called them an euil that nedes must be suffered. As for chiefe iudges, p̄oconsules, or lieutenantes, he gaue none of those townes in rewarde, but by a delyberate iugement either of him selfe or of the Senate. Such was the wonderfull and (as I thought say) moste curiosus circumspetion of this excellē p̄ynce Alexander, whiche in myne opinion can not be by mannes runge sufficently extolled.

¶ Howe curiosse ther impēriō: Alexander was in affyngage of inspectō in his lawes, and howe he used frēerasse in Marōnē to warde them accordyng to theyz merites. Cap. VIII.



¶ OF CHIEF PERSONS as he assigned to be iudges in thās plāce, he with good iudgement and p̄ofe byode chose them which were beste lerned in the lawes, and  
¶ ill were

## THE IMAGE OF

were of moche auncientie, and therwith hanynge good  
grauitie, and were knownen to be sincere and of good  
conscience, and vnto them was appoyned an hono-  
rable stipende: In so moche as to them that were iu-  
ges in prouynces, was gyuen to every of theyn. xx.  
Rouayne poundes of syluer, lyke syluer pottes, two  
mules, two mulettes, two horses, a horsekeeper and a  
mulettour, two robes or habites, to lye in iudgement,  
one honorable garment to weare in his house: one for  
his bayne or studye: Also a hundred pieces of golde:  
Mo:reouer one cooke, and if they were unmarried, one  
concubine. And after that they had lefte theyr admini-  
stration, they shulde yelde agayne the mules, mulet-  
tes, horses, mulettours, and cookes, whiche all the  
sayde tyme were founde of the common treasure, the  
resydue they shulde retayne styll, if they had done wel  
in theyr offyce: And if they had done euyll, they shuld  
paye the quattreple or fourteynes so moche as they  
receyued.

**C**he neuer wolde suffer that any offyce, whiche had  
iurisdiction, or execucion of Justice, shulde be solde  
or opteyned by giving of money, or any other reward.  
And therfore wher one of his moste prynycle seruaun-  
tes had prouysed to one, to obteyne of the Emperour  
for hym an offyce, whiche had ciuite iurisdiction or ad-  
ministration of Justice, and therfore had taken a hun-  
dred pieces of golde: The emperour comanded, that he  
shuld be hanged on a galouse openly in the hygh way,  
wherin the emperours seruauntes shulde moste often  
passe to his manours, withoute the citie. And whan  
Ulpiane, one of the sage men of his counsayle blameth

Pondo con-  
cepeth of  
our usuall  
grotes. 125  
so the stip-  
pende a.  
mounted to  
p. 1. l. xiii. &  
a. d. of  
our money

his

his sentence as cruell and representynge a ty;annyp, he paciently haerde hym, and aunsweated immediatly, sayng, The residue of my maners declarereth me not to be frounche, or to take pleasure in crueltie, specially to them whome I fauour and haue nexte abouthe me.

Se you not, what woynes and fyses wolde increase to consume the grayne and fruities of the erthe, if the pleasantnesse of the spryng tyme and begynnyng of somer shulde euer continue, and the sharpe and certe-ble synyster dyd not with his sharpe frostes and bytter synydes purge the erthe of suche euill increase? who knoweth not, that in al thing that is swete, woynes be bounden, whiche wil sone consume al that they bynde in, if it be not preserued by laping about it something bet-ter or veray unsaerty? If the ancient lawes of this cite adudgeth hym to dye, that spitesfully pulleth downe or beyleth the Emperour's image, or counterfayteth his copne, seale or sygne maner, of how moch conuenience & moxe with iustice is it, that he shuld sufferdeth, whiche with selling of the administration of iustice, pluckith downe and defyleth amouge the people the good renoume of the Emperour? or counterfayteth & changeth the mynd of the Emperour, whiche is his veray image immortall, wherby bothe the prynce and the people sufferdeth incomparably moxe damage than by forging of money. Do not ye being so wylle a man, consider, that he whiche byeth a thynge, maye sel ite. And for my part whyle I lyue, I wyl never suffer any auctorite to be vsed as marchaundise, for that whiche I suffer, I maye not with myne honoure condemne or prohibite. And I can not for shame punishe a man for sallyng that thynge  
that

that he byeth. Wherefore if ye consider euerye thynges well, ye shall fynde no cause to blame me of craultie, or resemble me to a tyrante.

With these wordes Alpiane founde hym selfe satisfi-  
fyed, and wonderynge at the Emperours wisedom,  
ceased to speake any more agaynst hym in any sem-  
blable iudgement.

Whan he made any ordinary judges, aduocates, or  
proctoures, he caused them to be openly named, requi-  
tyng the people and gyuyng them courage, if there  
were cause to accuse them, to prove the thyng by open  
wytnesse. And he was wonte to saye, *Senis christen*  
men and ielwes in the election of p[ri]estes, caused them  
to be in suche fourme tryed: it shulde be inconuenient,  
if the same were not vsed in the gouernours of coun-  
treys, unto whom were commytted both the lyues and  
substance of men that be vnder them. Foreseen if they  
dyd not sufficiellly prove it, and that it seemed to be ma-  
liciouse detraction, the accusour shulde soþthwith be  
beheaded.

¶ Of the great care and diligence that Alexander vsed aboufe  
the publyke weale, and of certayne newe offycers  
ordyned by hym. Cap. xviii.



HE HOVSCHOLDE seruauntes and  
counsaylors of the emperour being well  
tryed, and by his owne example broughte  
in good order, also the heed offycers, iu-  
ges, and all other that had authoritie in  
the publyke weale, beinge well chosen and instructed  
by the example of the emperours court: it was a wo-  
der to beholde, with howe lyttell difficultie, and howe  
sone

soone the resydue of the weale publyke was broughte  
into a good facion, all men delytyng in vertue, and  
prayng the beaultie and commoditie therof in their  
superiours. Also reiysinge at the affabilitie and gen-  
tynesse of the noble emperour, and semblably drea-  
dynge his severitie, they brought at the last vertue in  
custome, wherby hapned that such vices as before se-  
med lytell, and were nothyng regarde, became to  
all men, o; at the leest to the more parte detestable. In  
so moche as the emperour needed not to send forth any  
espiall to espye mens conditions. To suche as were  
eupll, were every where noted, and of all men dysoap-  
ned. So that by them it hapned, as it doth by one that  
is sycke in a home sene, whiche syll abhorretth euery  
medicine that the phisition doth offer to gyue hym: but  
whan he beholdeth the phisition mynke any thyng  
therof, tha as he the better content to drayn of the same:  
but by reson that his tast is corrupted, to him al thyng  
that is holosome semeth unpleasante, be it never so de-  
lectable, finally fearing eyther to dye, o; to be compell-  
ed to receyue a moxe greuouse medicine, he taketh the  
potion by lytell a lytel, butyll at the last by custome of  
drynkyng therof, he hath by brought that potion to be as  
familiare and agreeable unto his tast, as was his com-  
mon and moxe usual drinke. And than doth he scoone  
bothe them that wylfully wolde dye rather than they  
wolde take medeine: and also them that be their be-  
petes or rulers, whiche do suffer them to take only that  
which contenteth their appetite. Semblably dyd they  
who by the emperours example, accustomad them-  
selves to vertue and honeste, escheyng suche byres,  
whiche before ralayd.

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**C**hane the emperour Alexander dyd ordyn new offyces in the weale publike, and what belonged to their authoritie. *Ca. xvi.*



OUVE LET vs retourne unto the emperour Alexander. Whan he perceiued that by the example of hym, and other great officers, the people began to apply a wared apt to receyue due reformation of the state of theyz lyuyng, he meruaylously therat reiopsing, gaue hym selfe holly to the restoynge of the publyke weale to his pristinate honour. Wherefore to the intent that nothyng shulde escape unreformed, he ordyned to be in the cite and also in the prouynces many offyces, somwhat mo than before were accustomed to be, appoyntyng causes culle and criminall to sundry iurisdictions, sayenge, wher one man hath many matters to order of sundry effectes, it fareth with hym as it dothe with a mans stomake, for the stomake receueth meates, dyuers in qualities and effectes, whiche all together can not be by one mans nature duly concocte and dygested. For somme meates be in operation hotte, and be not apte but so, a colde stomake wyl never be boyled. other meates be of grosse & harde substance, and requyre a strong and myghty stomake to endue it: other be softe and delycate, and beinge to hastily digested, it nothyng profytereth. Not withstan- dyng any one of the sayde meates beinge in one sto- makke, are better prepared to digestion than many, co- syderynge the trauyale that nature must haue in the seperation of sundry qualities, that be in divers mea- tes to prepare them to their effectes, wherto they were

ordyn-

oþdeyned. And if the naturall heate in mans bodeþ be not thereto sufficient, that whiche is oþdeyned so; nou-  
tysþyng of lyfe, is converted to corruption of blode  
and other humours, whiche is cause of syctenes. But  
yf any meate happen to come into the stomake, whiche  
meate is apt for his temperature, there shal be be per-  
fectly concocte oþ boyled, and by a naturall digestion  
made apte for the nouysþyng and p[re]servation of o-  
þer membris. Accordançe to this similitude, If one  
man being in autho[rit]ie, whiche I resemble unto the sto-  
mack, be he never so wel learned oþ wise, if he take upon  
him the oþdryng and vyscylling of all maner causes,  
his wytte, whiche is in the stede of nature, shalbe ther-  
with so moch incumbred, that being shadouſe oþ occu-  
pied aboute one matter, in the meane tyme an other is  
appayred: and yf he leue the syde, to reboute the  
ſeconde oþ thyde, the syde is than in warse case than  
he founde it, the parties contendyng being chanfed,  
and in a moxe feruent contention. Oþ in a cynamall  
cause the offenders beinge leſte uncorrected, putting  
al feare apart, not only do perſuer but also incuse in  
their euill doynges. Fynally whete one man hath the  
depeachyng of many mattres, none one of them may  
be broughte to a perfecte conclusion. For as moche as  
to every act belongeth oþportunitie, whiche can neuer  
be founde, whete many mattres be entrelaced, oþpor-  
tunitie being onely espyed by a vigilant and constant  
ſtudye. More ouer whete many men be in autho[rit]ie,  
good wyttes shall not be hyddre noþ bntewarded, and  
many shall apply them to vertue and studye, vpon  
hope of p[re]ferment. And wher as be many particu-  
lar autho[rit]ies, there shal ſumbry mattres be the ſoner

depeached. This was the sapeng of Alexander.

**C**And therfore by the consent of the senate and people, he ordyned fyft according to the counsel of Plat<sup>o</sup>, certayne persons, whiche were named Conservators of the weale publyke: to whose office it appertained to se, that the chylde<sup>n</sup>en of the Romaynes were well brought vp and instructed accordyng to the capacite of their wyttes, frome the age of seuen yeres vnto syxene, and that in they<sup>n</sup> playes and recreation were nothyng<sup>e</sup> dishonest. Also that at certayne tymes appoynted, they were exercysed in ryding, if they were sonnes of gentylmen. Also they and the resydue, were exercysed in swymmyng, runnynge, whastlyng, and to occupye all weapons of warre. Semblablye that the wappons, duringe the sayde age, were brought vp in charfesafnes, humblenesse, and occupation necessary for a housewif. And that they were not seene out of their fadeth houses, but only in the temples, vnto the whiche women only resorted, and that in the company of their mothers or such other as were in their places.

**C**Mozeoher it pertayned to the sayd Conservators, to controll euery householder, of what clase or degn<sup>t</sup> so euer he were, yf there were founde any excesse in his fadre, or that he had resort of riotous persons: or that he kept any mo seruauntes than had rounmes in they<sup>n</sup> howses, or in some necessary busynesse were continually occupied.

**C**Also that no man neyther in hym self, his wif, nor his seruauntes shulde excede or in any part change the apparayle that by the lawes or the emperours ordinances had ben prouided.

**C**Mozeoher to se that no pitailing house nor bordel house

house shoulde haue their doores open, up doore, vnto any person, ryther before the sonne risen, or after the sonne sette, whiche was done to the intente that every man shulde be knowne, that repaired to suche places, and moche good happned by that prouision.

These Conservators were threesc score in number, that is to saye, for every tybe two, some beinge deuided into xxx. tribes, and twise in the lyke they assybled and dydde communicate suche defaultes as they had founden, and forth with all they certifiid to the prouoste of the citie all the defaultes, reseruing the education of chyldren, which they them selfe refourmed by sharpe admonition givene to theye parents, whom if they founde disobedient or negligent, theye certyfied therof the Senate, who caused the sayde parents to be punisched as enemites of the publyke weale of the citie. Them whiche offendid in the other articles, the prouoste of the citie punyshed, accordinge to the statutes and ordynances in such cases prouided.

The prætores, Questores, and other lyke offyces and authoritieis be augmented in number, all be it he decyphred theye iurisdictions, to some be appoynted onely contractes, in the whiche woorde were compre-hended all thynges wherin bargayne or prouylfe was contyned: and that he caused to be extremelye crampfed and discussid by the sayde offyces, and in whome was founden to be any dyfceipte or saythe broken, he withoute hope of any remeedyon or pardon, was immedately beaten with whippes: which was also the punishment of them that had stolen priuily without any violence. The emperour saying, That it was but a fantasye and a thyng to laughe at, to make a dif-ference.

shand

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ference betwene stealyng and dissett or breakyng his bargayne, where it appereth to be no dyuersitie, but onely that this hath trusste and credence ioyned with it: and the other hath none, but is a syngle iniurye. Wherfore in reason it is the lyghter offence, where, by the other meanes, not onely the thyng is gotten with as moche iniustice as if it were stolen: but also saythe other wylle called trusste, whiche is the foundation of Justice, and consequently of the publishe weale, is dissolved. And therfore it ought to be reuenged with no lassie punishment than symplic theft.

**C**harchuayours for graine to the citie he made of honeste and diligent persones, and to theym he assigned particuler auditours, notwithstandingynge at the ende of the yere, bothe the puruayours and auditours left theyre offices, and other were chosen.

**C**o them that were his baylysses receyvours fureynours and other that procured or gathered the revenues of his crowne, he gaue competente salaries: but he fauoured them not, callynge them a necessarie euyll. Wherfore if he perceyued that any of them had gathered moche rychesse, he wolde take al from them, sayinge, Let it suffice you, that ye haue taken so long pleasure with my goodes: and beware that ye take not from other men iniustly, leste ye make me more angry with you. Ill be it if he perceyued any of them afterwarde to lyue brygghtly, and to haue good wyt and letnynghe he aduaunced them to some other roumes, wherwith they confessed theyre seruice to be recompenced. Fynally he never punished any man greuously for his owne particular causes, and the sharpnesse that he vsed in punishinge offences agaynst the weale

weale publyke. whan his considerations were wel examined and pondered, it was thoughte by all wypse men to be ryghte expedient.

**C**o the prouoste he toyned. xiiiij. whiche had benne Consules, callynge them gouernours of the citie, commaundynge them to here with the prouoste, the assyates of the citie. And that no sentence were gauen, nor act made, but that they al, or the moare part were therat p<sup>r</sup>esente.

**C**o the defestation that Alexander had unto idelnesse and the vices therof procedyng, and of dyuerse provisions that he made agaynst it. Cap. xx.

**H**IS most noble Emperour was so to-  
ced in vertue and fervent zeale toward  
the weale publyke, that all byce was to  
 hym almooste incolleable. And so<sup>r</sup> as  
 moche as he perceyued, that idelnesse,  
 that is to saye, easynge from necessarie occupation  
 or studie, was the synke, whiche receyued all the syn-  
 kyng canelles of vycce, which ones being byxynne ful,  
 soddynly runneth ouer through the citie, and with his  
 pestiferous ayre infecteth a great multitude of people  
 et it may be stopped & clensed. And that not withstan-  
 dyng, the people being ones corrupted with this pe-  
 stilence, shall with greattte difficultie and with longe  
 tracte of tyme be deluyered. And yet ere that shall be  
 brought well to passe, a great parte of the people shall  
 perdyne: whiche this wypse and vertuous Emperour  
 consyderyng, and haunynge therof maruaylouse care,  
 to the intent to withdrawe men from all excuses of i-  
 delnesse, he with an incomparabile prudence o<sup>r</sup>deyned  
 so<sup>r</sup>

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for every astate some forme of exercys to be necessary by or vertuousely occupied, begynnynge at the base people or communers, whiche were moche in number, and proceding forth to every other degré or condition. ¶ Fyrste all vyle occupation or labour, wherby nature moughte be corrupted, or bodily strength decayed, he caused onelye to be exercysed by bondemenys or straungers, that is to say, not beinge citizens. Semblably, he wold not suffer any citizen to be a marcha- aduenterer, nor to sell any thynge by retayle, that he hym selfe wroughe not, or were not made by his owne prouision or studye: sayinge, That the Romaynes by trauaylyng into sundry contrays, gathered a brought into the cite with theyr marchaundise, the vices of other people, which apprehended by other (as the more part of men do delyte in newe fangernes) is the cause of more damage to the publyke weale, than a hundred tymes the value of the marchaundise may be commo- diouse. Moreuer syndyngc ones a delite to accumulate treasure, and desyryngc to excede one an other in rychesse, they attende so moche to theyr owne particu- lar lucre, that they abandon al liberalitie, beneuolence and charitie, excepce it be very fewe. Finallye they be never to the publyke weale profytale. Also they that retayle that whiche is bought of the craftes man that warketh it, they not onely defraude other of the iuste p̄ce, contrary to the directe order of equitie, but also do consume the tyme idelly, beinge not occupied ney- ther in bodily exercise, nor in vertuous or commodityouse studye. Therfore to suche practyse or mystery, he admittid onelye straungers. And also to bryng out of other countreys and to selle to the citizens all suche thynge

thonges as therof was none growynge in Itaile, or  
not in sufficient quantite, as walles, mettall, & sylike.  
Forseen that none of it were broughte in any place  
out of Itaile. And of suche strangers it was lefull to  
the Romaynes, to bpe in grosse, and retayle, All be it  
there shuld no mo retayle than were appoynted by the  
Senate: and those also shulde be crampned and assi-  
gned by the Provost of the citie, and suche as were to  
bym associate. And the sayde marchaunte straungers  
were by the Emperoures commaundement very cour-  
taisely entayned, and so were all other straungers,  
whiche repayzed to the citie to bpe therre any thyng o-  
relles to practise any excellent bunninge or crafte, and  
were exonerate of all charges for the watres, excepte  
it were onely for the defence of the citie. But of them  
he suffred to be but a certayne number, whiche was  
not lawfull for them to excede. And vnto them were al-  
signed of the Romaynes certayn iudges and officers,  
whiche verely also were chaunged. But nowe to treate  
howe he kepte the people from idelnesse,

¶ Syde he prouyed, that where there was not any  
artifice or craft necessary, but that it shoulde be found  
within the citie, whiche he ordred in this wyse. He knew  
every perce ones by the officers called Censores, howe  
moche people were dwellinge in the citie of every age.  
Also by them whiche were called Ediles, howe many  
householdes there were of every crafte. Then wolde  
he diligently enscrche, of what perfiction they  
were, wherin they were occupied, and if he found  
therin moche lacke, so that the byars shulde suffer de-  
trimente, than informed he the seller therof, that he  
shuld no more wolle to saile, þoughþ he were instructed  
þoþd

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more perfaitely. Not withstandyng that person was compelled to wōke vnder an other man, whiche was more perſone, vntill his wōke were commynched.

¶ Moreover he ordeyned, that after that the children of the communers could wypce and rede perfyctly, they were set to some artifice or crafte. But if within one yere it appered, that they were unapt thereto, or that it were moche contrayouse vnto theyr nature: than the Conseruators examyning as moch as they coulde, to what crafte or ſcience necessary theyr wittes were moſte apte, vnto that ſhulde they forthewth be ſette, to leue of them whiche were good workmen. And therfore he gatte oute of all partes of the empire the moſte knyngc and perfecte crafteſmen in euery ſcience to dwel in the citie, not onely compellyng them by his auctorite, but allurynge them with perely ſtippes of grayne, to the ſyndyng of theyr householdeſ, and alſo to be free fro me all maner exactions in peace or warre, to instructe in theyr crafteſ perfeccyon the yonghe of the citie.

¶ The crafteſ, whiche he wolde that the moſe parte of Romaynes ſhuld occupie, were thone, wherin both the body and wypce moughte be exercyſed, whiche he ſayde perceyned to men that were free of condition: other occupations, wherin was bodily labour onely, he ſayde was for bondemen and beaſtes. And therfore within the territoſe of the citie of Rome, and in the manourſ and ſeruies of the gentylmen Romaynes, he ordeyned that bailyfes and ſurueyors of hufbandy ſhuld be free men and citienſ, and that the ploughmen and labouars ſhulde be bondemen and ſtrangiers. In other citieſ beſides Rome, ſome of theſe thynges were

were changed after the necessary and nature of the people, wherin this emperour alway had a marvellous consideration.

¶ After this diligent provision, if any one of the people had ben found idell by the space of one hole day, except in fearefull daies & other tyme of solace appointed, he was forthwith examined, and hauyng no lefull and approued excuse, he was fyfe whyped, and after by the Conservators committed to one of the crastors, that he was of, and for every day that he was openly faine to be idell, the persone unto whom he was committed, shuld for a moneth set hym to any laboure that he list, as his faine or bondmen, givynge to hym meate and drynke onely. And it was not to any other man lefull, delyngt that hym, to givie hym meate or drynke; or to speake with hym, or to wryte them to rebuke hym. And after the said correction, the said Conservators shuld see that he were bestowed wher he mighte be with a competent hawinge.

¶ The semblable order was diligentlie, and (as I thought faire) exactly kept by the Emperours fratre commandementes, botche in Grecce and Gralpe. And where execution any tyme failed, or was neglected, the officers were deposed with open reproche, and forrayne of the thynke paste of ther substaunce: whiche being employed immediately on greate, and bisydom to equall and fayre amonge the people wel occupi- ed, within the citie or toome wherin such a tyme had been. And with great differtie the sayde officers in fayrelyng deposed, come to sette open of the emperours, in come in auctorite. By the fratre wylle, and the sayde distribution unto the people, this ordinance

¶. ii. was

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was never omitted, duryng the lyfe of Alexander. Wherefore it was a wonder to beholde, howe sodernly idlenes was every where excluded, and busynesse in every occupation augmented.

¶ Of bapnes and places of exercyses, made for the people of Rome, by the emperor Alexander. Cap. vii.



ORE OVER to the intente that the people shulde not be to moche fatigate with contynual labour, whereby their bodys shulde become desrepit and brapt to the warres, he not onely amended and intarged the hotte bathes made by dyuers emperours and pryncis before hym, wherin the people of Rome accustomed to refreshe and make cleane their bodys, but also made new bathes more pleasant and sumptuous, ioyning them to those that were made by Nero the empertour, conuayeng into them water naturally hotte, cumlyng by conduites of marble from mountaynes in Naples, by the space of C. C. myles from the citie of Rome. And also he brought into somme partes of the baynes colde water from the moste pure and delectable sprynges, the people to vse the oone of the other at their own plesures. Moreouer he bought certain houses, whiche stode nigh to the sayde bapne, and caused them to be pulled downe, and that place he made to be leuelled, and to be sette with yonge trees in the moste pleasant facion, having there large places, wherin the people after that they were bapned, moughte to lomyng, leape, or wastell, or vse any other semblable exceptynge to the whiche places the sayd trees gave a commodious and pleasant umbraj. And in the ymbraying place

on the grounde was thiche couered with Camomile, Dijoniam, and otherlyke grasses, bothe swete to savour and softe to fall upon. Also the sayde emperour moche delyted in the beholdinge of the sayd exercizes. Wherefore it was the most parte of his pastyme to solace to see the people exercised in tourne also sayd, or els the gentylmen to assay them selfe in tourne of bawdy, as hereafter shall be declared.

To the sayde baynes and places of exercys were assygned a number of kepers and ministrers, to whiche were givyn sufficiente falaries. And those places were alway kepte so nete and dylectable, that to the open of nose, was never any thyng ympleasauant or noyfull: by the whiche cleanness the citie was metuaylouslye preserued from sundrye syckenesse, whiche vndoubtely do grow of corrupt exhalacions, venyng out of mens bodies. And for that cause to eny other occasyon of pestylence and other horriblie dyseases, this Emperour praybyted by speciall lawes, ingurgacions, banckettes, late suppers & longe. Moreover causynge the controller of markettes (of whiche ther were divers) by the whiche were chosen of speciall honest men, and not amaricous or nedye, to haue a vygylant eye on the market, that not onely bytayles were sold by a due weyght and measure, and at pricis set by the Senate, but also that they were not in any place superi-  
ted in savour or substance, and that no suche thyng were sold for hitayle, wherun any person that tallye thought be ingedred and hid, as musherons, frogges, and other lykethynges, founeden vnde vnderlyng warrington, or any other, than by a swete ingurgacion to serue for mans lustynance, and in cheste thynges, of any lacke

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Were perceyued to be, the emperour and senate with a  
diligent scrutiny founde out the persone by whose de-  
faute it hapned, with alse the controller, which seemed  
to be negligent. And the seller was accoydinge to the  
lawes sharply punyshed. The controller as other offi-  
cer, þt there were fownden in hym negligence, was with  
great rebukes expellid from his office, and had the  
tenche part of his manable goodes confiscate, which  
beinge brought into moner, and bestowed on liberall  
was distributed amoung the people, which dwelled in  
that part of the citie, wher the offence was commited.

**C**h is here to be considered, that such summes as  
were forfayted by corrupt or negligent officers, came  
neuer to the use of the emperour, ne he gave them to  
any person, but employing it on corrie, he caused it to  
be distributed amoung the people. Whiche in myne o-  
pinion was a metaylous policie, for therby he de-  
clared, that he used severall mot for his owne particu-  
lar aduantage. And also the people, which suffered durt-  
ment by the lacke of the officers, receyued the benefit of  
that whiche was forfayted, which caused a multitud to  
be alway in awaite to fynd some misdemoranour in the  
officers, to the intent they mought therby be the better  
relieved. And the officers at the last became metaylous  
circumspet. And fynally the prince for his wisedome  
and charite not only prayfed, but also as a bracketal  
father of al his people was moche entelij beloved.

**C**onching such persone as were in extreme pa-  
uerie, and otherþt by greuous sycknes or feeble age,  
were deceipte, or otherwysse not able to labour, I wyl  
after the next chapter declare the incomparabile p-  
erfome of this excellent emperour.

CD

¶ Of the magnificence of the emperor Alexander in sumptuous and necessary warthes, and in so hel spescher he caused the nobilitie and gentylmen of Rome to be accupted. Cap. xxi.



ESIDES the baynes, whiche <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Emperour</sup> ~~Emperour~~ <sup>had</sup> ~~had~~ <sup>made</sup> ~~made~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ the citie of Rome, Alexander made also in every roialme <sup>being</sup> subiecte to the empyre of Rome, common baynes, he also made greate and stronge barches in many cities, for the people to kepe in their priuate stalle and goodes, such as had not of their owne priuate houses of suffycent strength for that purpose. He made also many faire houses and mancion places, whiche immediatly he gave to his frendes, whome he perceyued to be mooste trusty and honest. In a place called Batanum, he made barches magnifieke or sumptuous, garnished with ymages of them whiche were ioyned to hym by any affinitie. He made meres and pooles to be wondred at, bryngyng the see vnto them, and causyng them to be replenyshed with strange and princypall fyshes. Also he edyfied greate and wonderfull brydiges, and repayred all them whiche were made by Traiane, leauyng not withstanding to Traiane the name and honour therof. In the market place of Actua, he set vp greate ymages of the most noble emperours, some on foote, & some on horsebacke, with their titles ouer their heedes, and betwene every ymage a greate piall of brasie, containing all their gesses and actes worthye remembrance. He made also a basilithe or place, whiche studie conuersacles were hertde and raged, whiche conayned to bese one hundred and fiftie, and in length a thow sande,

Lande, and stode all vpon pylers of porphyry, whiche  
is a ston of purple colour, and the pylers were gar-  
nished with ymagis of noble pryncis, Kokes & Ro-  
manynes, wrought in pure whyte marble, with their  
names over their heedes, and vnder their feete, they  
actes wrought also in very smal ymagis of copper in  
a moste lyuely and quicke demonstration. But in one  
kynde of magnificence he passed all other. So, where  
dyuerse cities by ethquakes had ben crushed, & ther-  
with defoured, he of the reuenues of the same cou-  
treys, gaue great summes of money to the redifieng  
of them. And many he esetsons restored to their pu-  
stynate beaultie and strengthe, diuerse he made more  
substançall and sure. There was no towne of re-  
putation in his tyme decayed, but that he caused the  
occasyon therof to be serched for, and to be forthe with  
reformed. The hauens of Italy and Sicile, he caused  
not only to be cleasd and repaireed, but also to be made  
more stronger, to defende outwarde hostilitie.

**C**Mozeouer, for the exercise of them, whiche were a-  
bove the astate of the comon people, he repayred and  
newe made many places and shynge necessary, whi-  
che is expedient to be put in remembraunce.

**S**yrl he vsited all the libraries that were in the citie:  
And where he found any booke deformed eyther with  
auncientie, or by neglygent keppynge, or by any other  
meanes, he caused them to be newe wryten and layde  
in their places, and the houses to be not onely clenfed,  
but also made more ornate and necessary: As making  
for euery booke an huche locked, to the intent that wha  
any man came to study there, he shulde haue no moo  
bookes to loke on, than one of the kepers of the lybra-  
rye

yp (wherof there were a good numbre retained to giue  
their attendance, hauing therfore competent salaries) shulde delyuer unto them. And before they departed,  
the sayd keper shulde perbuse the leaues of the bokes,  
that they loked in, to thintent that yf they dyd cutte or  
trent any out of the volume, they shulde be apprehen-  
ded, and by the offycers called Ediles, committed unto  
pryson, and there shulde remayne bnyll they had re-  
paired sufficiently the bokes that they had defaced, &  
also caused an other lyke booke to be wrytten, and be-  
stowed in the sayde lybryary. And yf any suche persone  
had escaped by negligence or fauour of the keper, and  
the defaute founden by some other, the keper was ex-  
pelled from his office without hope of remyssion, and  
was also compelled to redoube the harme in lykewise  
as he shulde haue done whiche committed the offence,  
yf he immediatly had ben apprehended. He made also  
a newe lybryary, garnyshyng it as well with most prin-  
cipall warkes in euery science, as also with the yma-  
ges of the autho:rs, wrought mooste excellently bothe  
in imboised warke and portraiture: whiche lybryary  
was deuyded into sundry galeryes, accordyng to dy-  
uers sciences, all buylded rounde in the forme of a  
cerkle, and beinge seperate with walles one frome an  
other: And in that portion that belonged to Geome-  
try and Astronomy, were about the walles great car-  
tes and tables, containing sundry lynes, figures, de-  
scriptions, dimensions, or measurynges, conuersions  
of sterres motiōs and reuolutiōs of planettes, sphe-  
retes and imaginary cerckles, with also material speres  
quadrantes, astrolabes, and all other instrumentes  
belongyng to those sciences. Semblable tables were

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in that pōcion that pertayned to Iritthmetike & mu-  
syke, contayning the sundry propoſtions of numbers  
and tunes, and thereto was added harpes, lutes, o-  
ganes ſoſte in ſownyng. For all instrumentes that  
were lowde & made great noyſe, were excluded thence,  
the cauſe appereth to wyſe readers. The place whiche  
was compassed aboue with the ſayde lybraries, was  
also rounde, and decked with pleasant imagerye, and  
hauynge ſeates coſmodiously aboue it: where they  
that came to ſtudy in the lybraries, mought walke ou-  
ſytte at their pleaſure, and communicate eche with o-  
ther that whiche they had radde ou perceyued. And to  
theſe places there fayled not to come dayly a greate  
numbre of gentylmen.

**F**or other neceſſary exerciſe, the emperour incloſed  
with a hyghe walle, a gruunde ioynynge to his owne  
palaice, containing in circuite one Italien myle and  
a halfe, whiche within the wall was enuyronned with  
a galery of thre heigthes for men to ſtande in and be-  
holde, whiche galeries were alſo of ſtone. And in the  
ſpace that two men mought ſtande & talke, there was  
a ſmall pyllar of marble, decked with ymages of men  
that deserued noble remembrance. The place was de-  
uyded ou ſet out with many large alayes, playne and  
ſtrayght, conteyning in breaſte one hundred feete, and  
in length one thouſande ſete, thole alayes were floozed  
with playſter, and the reſidue was thycke ſprad with  
fyne grasse and camomyl, hauyng here and there ban-  
kes for men to reſt them whan they were weare. The  
yonge gentylmen of the citie whan they repaired to  
the palaice to gyue their attendance, they in the mean  
tyme that the emperour was in preparynge hym for-  
warde

wardc, exercysed them selfes, some in the sayde alays, in tunnyng or castynge the balle, somme in the grene places w<sup>t</sup>astlyng leapyng, and castynge of the dart. And in the galeries stode other of the nobilitie & gentylmen, such as lysted to beholde them. And without the walles were great and hygh trees of cypresse and fyre, with b<sup>t</sup>ode topes, conuayd thyther with great industry: whiche trees dyd cast ouer the walles a pleasant umbraige or shadowe, and defended them that did exercise from the vehement heat of the sunne beames. And also in wynter kepte the place more mylde & temperate in resoluyng or breakyng the violent and cold blastes of the northern and westerne wyndes. Often tymes the empereour hym selfe delyted to come and beholde the sayde exercyses: but in his owne persone he neuer exercysed hym selfe but priuily, and a few being present, to the intent that if he were vanquished in any feate (as sometyme it hapned, although fewe menne surmounted hym in strength and delyuernes) he wold not gyue occasion to be dispraised, & had in contempt of his subiectes. Whan by extreme heate in the sommer, or by rayne & other vehement tempestes of wynter, the sayde exercyses moughte not be vsed, than the yonge gentylmen soone repaired to the saide lyb<sup>t</sup>aries and passed the tyme vertuously in readyng, wryting, or playeng on instrumentes, dyuers haunted the scholes of philosophers, rhetoricians, and poetes (of the whiche sorte there were at that tyme in Roome a greate numbre) and herde them either recite their owne warkes, or expounde other olde autho<sup>r</sup>s. Many wolde resorte to the common houses callyd Theatres, and purposyng some matter of philosophre, wolde there dys-

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pute openly. Other wolde pyke out of some auncient  
story some question concerning martiall or ciuile po-  
lycie, and in commendyng or dyscommendyng it, de-  
clare their opinyons and sentences in the forme of a  
consultation: whiche exercize was of no lytell impor-  
tance to the increase of wytte and prouysion of coun-  
saylours. And at suche exercysse the emperour princi-  
pally delyted to be present in his owne person, as well  
to haue knowledge of other mens wittes and toward-  
nes, as also to gather of their reasons some sentence  
or matter, whiche being kept in remembrance, mought  
perhaunce profyte hym in matter more serious or er-  
nest occasion. Besydes these persons there sayled not  
to be some, more gyuen to play than to study, whiche  
also had a sayle and large place in the palayce, where  
they played at the chesse and other lyke games, wher-  
in they mought be plesantly occupied, wherin the win-  
nyng was neyther golde nor syluer, but only victorye  
and commendation of wytte or dylygence. Not with-  
standyng it was lefull for them at suche games to  
play for money, so it exceeded not a summe certayn, whi-  
che was asselled by the emperour and senate. At dyng  
it was not to any man lefull to playe: The emperour  
hauyng this sentence alway in his mouth, Our fore-  
fathers trusted in wysedome and prouesse, and not in  
fortune: and desyred victorie for renoume and hono<sup>r</sup>,  
and not for money: And that game is to be abhored,  
wherein wytte sicaþeth, and ydelnes with couetyse is  
onely lerned. And for the mortal hate and indignation  
that he bare to this losse of tyme (for so ought it rather  
to be called, than a play) He made a lawe, which was  
ratified by the autho<sup>r</sup>itie of all the senate and people.

That

That yf any manne were founde playeng at dycce, he Dyce p[er]op[er] shuld be taken for frantike, or as a foole natural, whi- enge. the coulde not wel gouerne hym selfe: and his goodes and landes shuld be committed to sage and discrete personages, apoynted by the hole senate, whiche employnge on hym that whiche was thought necessary for his astate or degree, shulde b[ea]ynge truely that whiche remayned to the comon treasory: to the intent that whan he returned to thyste, or was seene by a good space of yeres, to b[ea]s good husbandry, in employeng well and honestly that portion that he hadde, he shulde be ester- sones restored as well to his landes and goodes, as to the reuenues and profytes that were growen in the meane tyme, whyle they were confyscate or in the rule of his tutours. fynally nexte to theves and extorcioners the emperour mosie hated them, whiche after the sayd lawe being made, were found to be dyse players, and wold not haue any of them callid eyther to office or counsayle.

**C**Of hospitallers and other provision made by Alexander for men that were decep[er]ite, or so diseased that they coulde not labour. Capi. xxviii.



**N A T Y M E** the Emperour Alexander b[ea]yng all partes of the citie of Rome, to beholde howe the Temples and other soleinne edifices were kepte and repaired, in passinge through the stretes he behelde a great numbre of persones, some defaced with horribile diseases, and some mutylate of they[ur] members, as lackynge armes or legges, or the necessarie use of the one or the other, whiche he consyderynge with a

L.iii.

seuere

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seuere and graue countenaunce, at the laste saide to a noble man called **Julius Frontinus**, who at that tyme was **Pretor** or **Gouernour** of the citie vnder the **Emperour**: what sorte of people be these, whiche beinge horrible and noyouse to beholde, do seeme **hazardable** to the **weale publyke**, sens they can not labour, but consume those thynges whiche are ordyned for them that can defende the **weale publyke** and vs whan occasion requireth: Than aunswered **Frontinus**.

**S**p; they be your naturall subiectes, wherof parte be depyyued of they; membris by chaunce of warre, where in they haue serued you and your noble progenitours **Emperours of Rome**, some doo lacke the office of they; membris, by naturall infirmities, the residue, whiche to your maiestie and all other seemeth to be an horrible spectacle, are men attached with greuouse sickenesse, whiche do happen to them (as phisitions do say) by the putrifaction of naturall humors. And wherof (saide the **Emperour**) procedeth such putrefaction of humours, suppose you? **Truely** (sayde **Frontinus**) as I haue redde and herde saye, it commeth of oone of these causes, eyther for as moche as great abundance of superflououse humours thycke and clammy, be dispersed in the body, wherby the pores (whiche are lyttel holes in the skynne throughout all the body, that be inuisible) be stopped, soo that the exhalation or brethe inclosed in the body, maye not issue out by the same pores: wher unto a strange or un-naturall heate beinge ioyned, maketh the sayde putrefaction. **S**omtyme it hapneth of meates or dynkes, beinge corrupted ere they be receyued. **S**omtyme where as well the ayre as the bodyes of men be distempered,

pred. Also it hapneth sometyme by the wrath of god, where he is offended or neglected in such duetie as belongeth unto hym, as it hath ben perceyued often tymes in this citie, and declared by prophetes.

¶ Ye haue answered ryght wel (sayd the Emperour) vnto my demande. But yet so as moch as I suppose, that ye cal them superfluouse humors, which ar more than conueniente to the naturall proportion and temperature of the body, wherin they be, I pray you tell me if ye can, wherof cometh that superfluous abundance, and by what occasion do they become thynke and clam my, wherby the pores (as ye say) be stopped. Truly, sayde Frontine, as I haue hard of phisitions, and also dayly experiance and reason declareth it, it procedeth of repletion and idelnesse, that is to saye, by eatynge immoderately aboue that whiche natural heate maye concerte in the stomake, also ingorginge meate vpon meate, ere that meate whiche was fyrist eaten be fully digested, also by not blynging competent exercise, wherby nature is comforted, and preparesh her selfe to labour about the concocting and digestyng of that whiche the body receyveth. Ye haue nowe satisfyed me (sayde the Emperour) and well to the purpose. Nowe beholde, sayde he. Frontine honozable fathur, what a pernyciouse neglygence was in our predecessours Emperours, besides the il example of diuerse of them, whiche haue like il tutours, suffred the people of Roine theyr pupilles so many yeres, dayly to consume them selues by licence in lyuyng, whiche hath brought into the citie suche horible sickenesse, whiche I wyl provide to expell thense if it be possible.

¶ The nexte daye folowyng he assembled his counsayle,

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sayle, whiche as I sayde before was of fyfty reuerend personages, to whom he declared the communication betwene hym and frontine, who at that tyme was presente, beinge one of the counsailours, assaymyng that he was fully determinyd, as wel to prouyde for them, whiche eyther were attached with the sayde horriblie syckenesses, and for those whiche were by warres for the weale publike mutulat in theyr membris, or mai- med, as also to put cleane awaie, or at the leste waye to minyshe the originall occasions of the sayde sycke- nesses. Whiche noble entreprize beinge of al them that herde hym, commended: fynally it was thought expe- dient by the noble Emperour, and by all his sayd cou- sayle approued, that within the citie of Royme shulde be two fayre and large hospytalles builded, to receyue and kepe them, whiche were so mutulat or maymed in the warres, that they coulde not exercyse themyselues in manuell occupation (for all other la- bours were done by captiues, bondemen, and slaues, and the Romaines were therof discharged) Also with- out the citie in some village nygh to it, wherby passed some ryuer, shulde also be edified two other hospital- les ample and necessary for fyue hundred sick persons, vnto whom shuld be appoynted fyue phisitians, sub- stancialy lerned in phisike, and well experienced.

Also fyue expert surgeons, with two apoticularies, men of good credence and trust, whiche shulde be bounden to haue alway al necessary dronges, vigorous in their force and vertue, without sophistickacion or other de- cepte in symptomes or compoundes. Also that they shuld burne or utterly reiect all thynges, whiche were eyther corupted, or so dyxed, that it shulde seeme to the phis- tions

tions (who shuld as oft as they list examin the warres) to be noyous, or to medtine unprofitable. The meate whiche was ordyned for these sicke persones, shulde be so lytell in quanticie, that it was lesse than suffycyent for any hole person. And whan it was asked of the Emperour, why he wolde that they shulde have so litell a pptaunce, he answered mervly, that he dyd it for thre speciall consideracions. The sy;ste was, that he had red in the bokes of Galene, the most excellent phisition, that the more one nourished bodies soncleane, and not sufficently purged, the more he dyd hurtte them. Also if the meate were more than the sycke men coulde eate, the ministers about them wolde sellie that whiche was left, and whan they had gathered therby moche money, eynther they wold lyue therwith riotously, and neglecte theyp; dueties in attendyng the sycke folke, or elles with that gayne prouyde for them selues some more welthy and easy lyuyng, so that in conclusion, the sycke people shuld be destitute of convenient ministers to awaite on them. The thydye considerac-  
tion was, that if the sycke men hadde abundance of good meate, many of them remembryng, that whan they were hole, they shulde be constrainyd to some occupation, and that they shulde not than eate so moche meate and so good, as they eate in the hospital, whete they laye well and at rest. Wherfore perchance whan they were hole, they wold synde the meanes to fasse sondes in theyp; sayde syckenes or other lyke, that they moughte be brought agayne to the hospitall. Suche unpcerable nature remaineth in some men, that to lyue idly and voluntuously, they wyl chose rather to be sicke, than to be healed.

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¶ These allegations of the wylle emperour was than  
confyymed, by dyuerte whiche had knownen it by long  
experience. Conceruyng them whiche were mutulat<sup>e</sup>  
or maymed in warres for the weale publik, they shuld  
haue a more plentious entaypnement, if he were in  
pouertie or lacked frendes. But they whiche were not  
in that necessitie, shulde haue appoynted by the Se-  
nate and the Emperours consente, an honeste propo-  
tion in corne and wyme, to spend in they<sup>r</sup> owne houses,  
as a thankefull remembryance of the Senate and peo-  
ple for they<sup>r</sup> good endeour whyles they were able.

¶ Moreouer to prouide for tyme to come, that is to  
saye, that the causes before remembred, whereof the  
sayde horriblie sickeneses proceded, he assaymed, that  
the besste and moste sure meane, was to pacifye the ire  
of god, and to make hym beneuolent vnto the people,  
whiche shulde be moste assuredly done, by excludyng  
horriblie vices and abhomynacions out of the cite, and  
to honour god purely. As so; the disposition of men-  
nes bodies, made apte by surfettes and idelnesse to re-  
ceyue corruption, and consequently horriblie sickenes-  
ses, he determinyd to make an Edict or imperyal<sup>e</sup> or-  
dynaunce, confyymed by an acte of the Senate, that  
no man shuld vse mo than two meales in one day, and  
that there shoulde be at the leaste. vi. houres betwene  
eury meale. Also that the Censores or correctours of  
maners, shulde take diligent heede, that if they founde  
or were informed, that any manne of the comminaltye  
wente to his meale, before he had wrought sufficently  
in some occupation, that the same Censores shoulde  
cause hym to be apprehended and kepte in some pry-  
son, by the space of thre dayes, haunyng but ones in  
the

the daþe onely, one ounce of b̄reade, and a lþtter wa-  
ter, without any other nourishment: the Emperour  
here reborsyng a prouerbe, wherof he had herde part  
of the chyfþen men: Let hym eare that laboureth, for he  
that laboureth not, is not worth that thyng that he eatherth,  
And such as moughte not be withdrawen from ydet-  
telle, he wolde haue them sent into Spayne, to digge  
fo; gold: or into the iles called Cassiterides, to labout  
in tyrre workes. And if within a whyle they laboured  
well without covetousnes or grutchyng, thos shulde be  
reuoked into the citie, there to apply diligently ther;  
occupation.

**C**he wolde also that the common people shoulde not  
haue at one meale, but one kinde of fleshe or fyfhe, and  
that shulde not be eyther delþcate, or in great quanti-  
tie. And if any man were founde doinge other wise, he  
shulde forsayte to the common treasory double the va-  
lue of the meale whiche he had for that meale prouy-  
ded. And that no gentylman shuld haue mo than thre  
sundry dylshes at oone meale, besydes fruite: no; any  
senatour aboue. iii. diuerse dishes, and one kynde of  
fruite if he lyste, whiche number he hym selfe dyd not  
excede, altho; no lawe dyd thereto compell hym. He  
wolde not that any citizen shoulde resort to open tauerns,  
but that every man shoulde haue his prouision in his  
owne house. And that tauernes and common Cookes  
shuld serue onely for them, whiche dwelled out of the  
citie, and came thither for some necessarye busynesse.  
And if any citizen were founde in tauerns, eatynge or  
drynkyng, he shulde be fente for to the Censores, and  
be sharply rebuked, at the seconde tyme, excludid out  
of all assemblies, and noted euer after as a man out of

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credence o; possiblitie to any p̄fement. At the thyp̄d tyme he shulde be sent to the mynes, and there remain, vntyl he seemed to haue amended his maners. A gentylman shulde be at the sy;ste tyme rebuked, at the second tyme, lose the name of a gentylman, and be reckened amounge the base people. the thyp̄de tyme his goddes shulde be commytted to a tutour, wherof he shuld haue no portion, vntyll it were well perceyued that he had vterly lefte resoyntyng to tauernes. A Sena-  
touer beinge founde in such places, shuld incontinent be discharged out of the Senate, beinge duryng his lyfe without hope to be therto restored.

**C**oxban the emperour Alexader had concluded these thynge with his owne counsaylours, he soone after came into the senate, and there recited in an eloquent and sobre oration, the sayde articles, declarynge what feruent desyre he had to sauie the people of Rome, not onely agaynst outward hostilitie, but also agaynst inward perylls and consumption of their bodyes by horriblie syckenesses, whiche oration fynished, all the senate with teares in their eyes for gladnesse, in the name of them selues and the people, rendred most hat ty thankes to the emperours maiestie. And forthwith without any exception o; myslkyng of any one thing, they confirmed it by an act of the senate. And the next day the Tribunes assembled the people, and declared to them all that p̄ceded: whiche they so joyously herd and receyued, that they ratifid it with their common consentes with these acclamations. Noble Alexan-  
der we pray the goddis, that they haue no lasse care of your maiestie than ye haue for vs. Most happy be we that we haue you amounge vs. Noble Alexander, the goddis

goddis preserue you, the goddis defende you, procede forth in your purpose. we oughte to loue you as our fader, to honour you as our lord, to metuayle at you as a god here lyuyng among vs. Thereto they added: Noble Emperour, take what ye wylle of our treasure and substance, to accomplitshre your purpose.

The emperour hetyng of this lyberal offer, caused to be answered in his behalfe, by Frontine his Pzeto: The emperour thanketh you, but nothyng wyl he charge you with, touchyng the bupldyng and furnys- shyng of the sayde. iiii. hospytalles, so; he wyl doo it of his owne treasure: only two thynges he requireth of you, whiche shall not be burdeynous to you.

Fyrist that ye ceasse not to pursue and obeye continuallly all the sayde statutes and ordynances. The seconde, that ye wyl be content, that suche common reuuenes, whiche seeme to hym baynely employcd and agaynste the weale publyke, mape without any gructhyng of your parte be layde to the mayntenance of the said hospitals. Therat al the people estones with one boore cryed: Do noble emperour what shall seeme to you good. For your moste blessed nature can not erre; do amisse any thyng that ye purpose. Herat the emperour reipecting, and remembryng that longe tyme before, he thought that the playes calld Florales and Lupercales, and the abhomynable ceremonies of Isis (in the whiche were shewed by men and women naked, moste abhomynable motions and tokenes of lechetye) were prouokers and nouryshers of beastely vice: he therefore by the cosent of the senate, abolysched the said playes and ceremonies. And the reuuenes, whiche belonged to the mayntenance of them being very great,

M iiii he

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he appoynted to lay them vnto the sayde hospitalles, with some part of his owne possessions, which he had purchased. Fynally the sayd fourte hospitalles within the space of one yere were buylded on the tyuer of Tybet in the moste ample and magnifike facion: so that all the chambers of the syck people were so made, that the floores of them were x. feete aboue the ground, and distant one from an other xx. feete, every chamber ha-  
uyng his bayne, and fleshe watet conuayed into eue-  
ry one of them by a cundyte, their places of easement ouer the tyuer, the wyndowes lyeng north & northest, the flooress of great thicke planks close topned, in the nether storp were the sellers, larders, wardrobes, and suche other offyces. At the south syde were lyke many chambers, the wyndowes opened toward the north, the kythens and lodgynges of offycers & mynisters, whiche shulde serue the sycke men were at the weste ende. At the east ende hauing a prospect into the north was the ware houses, which serued for medicines, to them were ioyned the lodgynges of the apoticaries, phisitions and surgeons, and they were ryghte faire & honestly furnyshed. Of no lasse magnificece were the two hospitalles in the citie, but rather more costly, wherby the beaultie of Rome was moch augmented. These chynges being stablyshed, the Senate toke on them the gouernance of them, appoyntring euery yere by lotte ten senatours to be therof surueyors and controllers of all the offyces and other mynisters. And the same senatours at the ende of they; yere to make accompt openly to the Tribunes and people, of the im- plement of every parcell of the sayde reuenues. And yf any were founde in arreage, he shulde be compel- led

led immedately to pay to the treasoyr of the sayd hospitalis foyntes foyntes as moch as the arraige amou-  
ted to. fynally so moche commodite happned vnto the  
cite of Ryme by the sayde hospitalles and other ordi-  
naunces before rehersed, that within very fewe yeres  
after, no fowle syckenes was perceiued to be in the ci-  
tie nor ydell person, by occasion wherof a gret parte  
of the chambers in the sayde hospitalles were vacant  
and moche of the revenues were sauied: whiche being  
brought to the common treasoyr, afterward easid the  
people of taxes in tyme of warre, to their no lytle com-  
fort and quietnes.

**C** In sovera amdry wypse Alexander rymyred his owne  
person, so that he was never syncess-  
tably occupied. Ca. xxviii.

  
**H**E MYNDE of this noble emperour  
was so feruently set and deternyned, to  
the good gouernance and aduancement  
of the weale publyke, and the conserua-  
tion of the same, that in eyngh the fyfthe  
yeres of his empire, whiche was the mooste parte of  
his regne, in as moche as he capymed but. xii. yeres  
and. ix. dayes, he dyd almoske none other thynge, but  
contynually syt with his counsaylours, whiche were  
neuer fewer than syxty men excellent in leynynge and  
vertue, trauctyng and deuyfynge thynges expedient  
for the weale publyke. And by the example of Iugur-  
th the emperour, he reported to the hole senate ones  
in a moneth, suche thynges wherpon they were con-  
cluded, with the pnympall reasons whiche thereto in-  
duced them, whiche is the mooste part of the senate sem-  
blably.

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blably liked, than were the provisions or ordinances devised, by their sentence approued, & incontinently enacted and published. And to the intent he wold not haue his labours & the authoritie of the senate frustate by the lacke of execution (Not withstandyng that he had many espialles as I sayd before, to awaite the defau-tes of officers) he vsed many tymes to dysguise him selfe in diuers strange facons, as somtyme in the habite of a schoeler of philosophye, comen out of Greke, and speakeyng nothing but Greke, which he dyd most exquisitely. oftentymes lyke a marchant, come out of Siria, or Persia, whiche had than but one language, and that spake themperour naturally, for as moch as he was boorne in Siria. And hauinge with him one or two men of that countrey, whiche he dyd counterfaite, he lyke a schoeler or seruant wolde one day haunte one parte of the citie, an other day an nother parte: And most politikely synd occasion to se the state of the peo-ple, with the industry or negligence of them that were officers, whiche progresse he wolde never dyscouer to any man, but only to Ulpian, or one or two mo of his most secrete counsaylours or seruantes, neither before that he began it, nor after, and to them that accompa-nied hym, he commaunded, that they shoulde kepe it euer secrete, as they wolde auoyde his moste greuous displeasure. And in dede durynge his lyfe, it was by them never dyscouered. But somtyme he coulde not so escape unknownen, but that he was somtyme per-cepued, but dreadyng his seueritie, they that met with hym, and knew hym, dñe not salute hym, or make any sygne of knowledge vnto hym. But whan that they had dysclosed it, all they that herde it, exampned their

they; owne actes, and al they, whiche at that tyme had done any thyng worthy to be reprooued, liued in dreade lokynge to be therfore corrected, or at the leest wayes blamed. Contrarywile, they which had done any thing worthy commendation, toke meruaylous comfort, doutering not, but that their good actes shulde eyther with benefytte or with the emperours prayses, be shortly rewarded, wher unto soone after was added to profit eyther in some office, or in other verely reuenues.

¶ After that he had reduced the citie to this honora-  
ble state, he than by the aduise of his most discrete cou-  
sailours, ones or twylle in the weke, vsed to solace out  
of the citie, with a great company with hym of hono-  
rable personages, for he never shewed hym self openly  
as Emperour, but with a greate and honourable pze-  
sence, aboue any other kyng of the worlde, albeit than  
he expressed a meruaylous familiaritie to all men in-  
differently, that lyst to approche hym, without repulse  
to any man being in honest vesture, and not dysseased  
with infectiue spckenesse. In this solasyng he hunted  
the harte, the wylde boze, or suche as be calyd Alces,  
brought for the nones out of the great woddes of Ger-  
many, whiche be in quantitie higher and longer than  
any oxe. He huted also oftentymes the beare, but that  
neuer sauynge only whan he was in the partes where  
they were bredde, saying, that forasmuche as the beare  
was of his nature a deuouter of cattel, he despised not  
to haue of that kynde in those places where cattell is  
nourished. In huntyng these beastes he sometyme on  
horsebacke proued his strength, sometymes shotyng,  
otherwhyles castyng at them sauelyns, whiche serued  
for that purpose. Oftentymes he onely behelde other

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Yonge gentylmen hunteynge, whiche he deuyded into sundry companies, and appoynted to them a numbre certayne of arowes or tauelyns, to the intent that one shuld not be more exercised, or take moare solace in hunteynge than an other. The lyons, lybardes, tygretes, panthers, and other lyke staunge and furyous beastes, he had in great numbres, whiche were kepte onely to thintent that at certayne tymes in the Amphiteatre, & other lyke places in the citie or deyned to the purpose, the people mought take pleasure in beholdinge them, & also seyng som such desperate persons, as wold auenture their lyues, fyght with some of the sayd beastes, or one beast to fyght with an other. But never wolde he lette any gentylman Romayne to do any suche battayl, sayeng, that he esteemed none so lytel, that he wold put hym in daunger for such a beast, whose body bengdeade, was nothynge profitable.

**H**e toke also pleasure to hunte the falowere dere, the too, & the hare with greyhoundes, inforsyng his horse (wherein he moche delyted) to gyue as many tournes to the game that he hunted, as the greyhoundes shuld do. And in that pastyme hauyng to every beast of bever but two dogges at the moste, he contended with many other yonge gentylmen on horsebacke, whiche were by hym selfe onely appoynted, to shew hym selfe moste delyuer and redye to incountre and checke the game at the moste aduauncage, wherin was a tyght pleasant and also profitable exercyse, shewynge a byfage or representation of a skyrmyshe in warres, Specielly whan he hunted the hart, and the bestes named Alces. For thanne there required to be shewed moche strength and hardynes, and in the pursuite labour & peyn-

þeynþalnes. And in this solace he vsed moche prudēce. So; they whiche one day hunted with hym, shulde not hunt the next day, but behold other hūtyng, and mark diligently the lacke of theym that hunted in to moche haste or slownes, to thintent that they mought refrain such defaut. And they that dyd best were praysed. And by hym that was the prouost of hunting, it was rege-  
streid in the emperours presence, howe many tymes e-  
very man was commended, to the intent that as rou-  
mes of capytayns and petite capitaynes were vopde  
in any of the emperours garrisons, they whiche in the  
sayde hūtynge were iudged mooste actife, ys other  
good maners were in them founden accordyng, shuld  
be preferred to sache roumes after theyr merites. But  
alway this good emperour had a vigilant respecte to  
the founteine of their lyuynges, and aduanced no man  
sodaynly, but with longe delyberation and good ad-  
uiseinent.

**C**Mozeouer notwithstanding his hūtyng or other  
recreation, he neuer wolde let any day passe, withoute  
eyther consulting some thryng for the weale publyke,  
or gruyng some true sentence in iugement, or redyng  
som place in good authoرس, to augment his wysdom,  
or wrytyng some stori or other thryng woxthyp remem-  
braunce, he was sache a nygard of tyme, that he was  
meruailously greued, ys he speare any daye in solace  
without doinge of any of those thrynges that I haue  
reherced. Not withstandyng that in the meane tyme,  
all the affaires of the empire were treated and ordred  
by men assured good and faythfull, whome he knewe  
wel wolde not be corrupted. And whan nede required,  
he herd matters before it was day, and prolonged the

¶ ii tyme

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tyme vntyl it were late & within nyght. And not with-  
standing he never shewed countenāce of werynes, ne  
to be in any parte frowarde or angry: but had alwaye  
one maner of visage, and in all thynges seemed mycye  
and pleasant. Undoubtedly he was of an excellent p̄u-  
dence, as in whom no man could fynde any lacke, and  
of so redy a wytte, that if any man merly wolde taste  
hym with a pret̄y taunt, he shuld shorly perceyue that  
he vnderstode hym. After the comune affaires as well  
ciuile as marciall, he gaue the moxe parte of his studi-  
to the readyng of greke authořs, readyng the bokes of  
Plato of a publyke weale. And whan he wolde reade  
any latin bokes, he rad specially the bokes of Culli, of  
a publike weale, and also his offices. Sometymes he  
radde oratours and poetes: amonge whom was Se-  
renus Ammonius, whome he knewe and fauoured,  
and also Horace. He radde moche the lyfe of the great  
Alexander, whom specially he folowed, not withstan-  
ding he abhorred his d̄unkennes and crueltie. Ill be-  
it the one & the other is defended and excused by some  
good authořs: whome oftentimes the emperour mo-  
che beleued. After his studye he applyed hym selfe to  
wastlyng, runnyng or thowtryng of the balle mode-  
rately. After his exercys he hauyng his body anoynt-  
ed with preuous and holsom oyntementes (as it was  
at that tyme the vse) entred into a bayne or stewe not  
hotte, where he taried sommetyme by the space of one  
houre, not onely to washe hym, but also to exercise him  
selfe in swymming. And whan he was come out of the  
bayne, he wold eate a good quantitie of mylk, sopped  
with fyne manchet, and a few egges, and thereto wold  
he drynke myche, and takyng this for his bzeakefaste,

somtyme he wolde dyne also: And ofte tymes he ab-  
steyned bryall suppet. Alway at after none he apply-  
ed the tyme to sygninge and readyng of letters and  
bylles, they whiche were called remembrauncers, stan-  
dyncinge about hym. and if by the reson of sickenesse or  
age it were painful for them to stand, he caused them  
to syt downe, hauyng the secretaries or clerkes rea-  
dyng the sayde letters or bylles vnto them. Alwaye  
the emperor hauyng a penne with his owne hande  
added to that whiche was necessarie, but that dyd he  
by the aduise or sentence that seemed besse or most con-  
uenient. whan he had perbised al these thynges, al his  
frendes were let in to gyther, & who that lyste mought  
frely and boldly speake than vnto hym, and he mettily  
and comfortably gaue eare vnto them. albeit he wold  
not here alone any man, but onely his great mayster,  
or Ulpian the lawyer, and such as were associate with  
hym in some speciall cause of Justice; but yet he never  
talked wþ any of them, but that he caused Ulpian also  
to be present. In this forme this noble emperour passed  
his tyme, enterlacing therwith other maner of solace.

¶ How the Emperour Alexander, at the requeste of his mother Mama  
mea, sente for the moste excellent clerke Origene: and of diuers  
notable sentences spoken by the same emperour concerning  
the receyving of the christen fayth. Capi. xix.



T THIS TIME there was in the ci- Euope  
tie of Alexandria in Egypce a man ex-  
cellente in all maner of letynge, and  
therwith wonderfull eloquentie in the  
greeke tonge, whose name was Ada-  
mantius Origenes: in so moch as whair  
¶ iii he

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he was but of the age of. xviii. yeres, he was in all the liberall sciences and in philosophye lerned exactely aboue all mennes estimation, he was sonne of one Leonidas, who for the chyisten fayth was beheaded. Also this Origene was chyistened, and from his tender age most perfytly brought vp in the rules of that religion, whiche he alway mosie exactly obserued, as wel in all kyndes of abstinence, as in example of humilitie, and contempte of thynges woldelye. He was for his great lernyng and seueritie of lyfe, appoynted by the bishoppes of chyisten men in Alexandria to preache and expounde the bokes, whiche they called the Bible: by occasion wherof he drew a great number of people dayly to the sayde chyisten faythe: whiche althoughe the emperour Alexander knewe, after that he dyd perceyue, that they were exquisite folowers of vertue, & peace, he wolde not suffer that any of them shulde be apprehended or pumished: but had them in great admiration and reuerence.

**C**the fame of this great clerke Origene came to the eates of Mammea the Emperours mother, who (as some menne supposed) was al redy perswaded to unbrace that profession. wherfore to be the more perfisly instructed therin, she mosie affectionately couayted the presence of the sayde Origene. And therfore she awaytyng oportunitie, came to the emperour her sonne and desyred hym, that he wolde sende for the sayde Origene, whose famouse lernyng was onely by report knownen vnto hym. To the whiche request he easelye graunted. And he hym selfe indited letters to be directed to Alexander than being the bishop of chyisten men in Alexandria, the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth.

Alex.

**A**lexander Imperour Augustus. &c. to Alexander The feso  
the chiefe byshoppe of Christianes in the great citie of ters of A  
Alexandria, well to doo. The fame of the vertue and lexander  
wonderfull lemyng of Adamantius O<sup>r</sup>igenes, your the Em  
great philosopher, soundeth continually in our eates, perour.  
whiche maketh vs desyrouse to beholde and here him, Ev<sup>g</sup>ar  
whose name contendeth in hono<sup>r</sup>able renoume with τ<sup>α</sup>ν  
our imperiall maiestie. We notwithstanding not en-  
uyng his glory, but couayting to be parre takers of  
his inspired lemyng, and folowers of his vertue, do  
reuiue you, to lycence hym to come vnto vs to Rome  
at his leysour without festination or trauayle. We  
haue w<sup>r</sup>itten to our prouoste of Egypte, that he pro-  
uide for hym all thynge expedient for his iourneye to-  
warde vs. Fare ye well.

**A**fter that the byshoppe had receyued these letters,  
he moche reiovskyng theate, sente for O<sup>r</sup>igenes. But  
with great difficulty mought he perswade him to take  
that iourneye, he allegyng by dyuerse argumentes,  
that it shulde be more necessary, that he continued his  
preachinges and lessons, whiche a greate parre of the  
people were all ready informed in the chyssian faythe,  
and dayly increased, and waxed desirouse of the inter-  
pretation of diuine misteries, than goinge to the citie  
of Rome, where abounded al vice, p<sup>r</sup>ypde and ty<sup>r</sup>anny,  
thereto sowe preciouse sedes, as it were in the land, or  
to gyue orient pebles to swyne. Yet fynally whan the  
byshoppe and other sage personages had credibly in-  
formed hym of the mooste excellent vertues of the Em-  
perour Alexander, and in what sorte he had reformed  
the state of the citie of Rome; he condescended to goo  
thither, whiche beinge intimate vnto the Prouoste of  
Egypte

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Egypte, he accordyng to the Emperours commandement, prouyded for hym a shyppe with all thynges necessary vnto his tourneye. And bycause he behelde hym symply appatayled, he ordeyned for hym sundry garmentes in the moste honest sort that philosophers than vsed: but Oxygene wolde not receyue any parte therof, not so moch as hosen or showes, but lyke as he alwaye accustomed to go from his chyldhode (that is to saye, in a syngle garmente of clothe and barefoted) so went he to Rome. And whan at his arrivale there were brought vnto hym a mule and a chariote, to ride in the whiche he beste lyked, he answered, that he was moche lasse than his maister Chrysste, whiche rode but one daye in his lyfe, and that was on a sely asse mare. Wherfore he wold not ryde, except he were sycke or de-crepiti: so that his leggis mought not serue him to go.

**C** The Emperour and his mother herynge of the comynge of Oxygene, caused hym to be brought in their presence, where he accordyng to his duety ryght humbly saluted the emperour knelynge, but the emperour with mooste gentylle countenaunce imbraccyd hym, and inforced hym to stande on his feete. Semblablye the emperours mother deuoutely saluted hym, reiolyng moche of his presence.

**C** And whan the emperour had beholden his natyue grauitie, and most assured countenance, he in his hart iudged hym to be a reuerend personage. Than demanded he of hym, what thyng he professed. He answered, Veritie. The emperour as ked of hym, what he mente theretby. He sayde, It was the worde of the lyuyng god, whiche was infallyble. The Emperour as ked, which was the lyuyng god, and why he so called hym.

Origene answered, That he dyd put that distinction  
for a difference from them, whome men beinge longe  
drowned in errour dyd calle their goddis, whome they  
confesse to be ones mortall, and to haue dyed. but the  
god, whom he preached, was euer lyuyng, and neuert  
dyed, and is the lyfe of all thynges that be, lyke as he  
was the creator of them.

¶ And whan the emperour had required hym to de-  
clare the vnitie of God the creatour, he devoutly lyf-  
tyng vp his eyes, after a shorту meditation, with an in-  
comparable and mooste compendious eloquence, he  
soorthwith opened that mystery in suchewyse, that as  
welle to the emperour and his mother, as to all other  
standyng about them (of whom I Eucolpius mooste  
happily was one) it seemed that we were brought oute  
of a longe slepe, and than dyd we se thynges as they  
were in dede, and that whiche before we esstemed and  
honoured were but vain dreames and imaginacions.  
Yet the emperour after a lyttell pause, sayde vnto Origene,  
that he moch meruayled, why men of such won-  
derfull knowlege shulde honur so God, a man that  
was crucified: being but of a poore astate and condi-  
cion. O noble Emperour, sayd Origene, Consyder  
what honour at this present tyme the wyse Athenien-  
ses yet do to the name and image of Codrus, their last  
kyng of Athenes, so as moche as at the tyme that  
warre was made by the two people called Peloponen-  
ses and Dorisenes, agaynst the Athenenses, answere  
was made to them, whiche counsayled with Apollo at  
Delphos, that the Peloponenses and Dorisenes, yf  
they slewe not the kyng of Athenes, they shulde haue  
the victory: wherof Codrus heryng, prefertyng the  
safer.

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safeガarde of his people before his owne lyfe, toke on hym the garmentes of a slaye, and beatynge on his shulders a burdeyn of styrkes, he wente to the hoste of the ennemis, and there of a purpose quarelling with some of them, and in the prease huryng one with his knyfe, he was by hym, which was hury, strike through the body and slayne: by occasion wherof, after that it was perceyued and knownen of the ennemis, they beinge confused, rysed they; campe and departed. And so this cause the Atheniensis, haue euer sens had the name of Codrus in reverence, and as all men do think worthylly and not without reason. Nowe than consider most excellent pypnce, howe moche more worthy, with what greater reason and bounden duetie ought we and all men to honour Christe, beinge the sonne of god, and god, who not only to preserue mankynd from daunger of the deupill, his auncient ennemye, but also to deliuer man out of his dark and stynkyng dongeon of errour, beinge sente by god the fater from the hyghest heuens, wyllingly toke on hym the servile garment of a mortall body, and hydying his maiestye, lyued vnder the vsage of pouertie, and finally not of his ennemis immedately, but moche more agaynst reason, of his owne chosen people the Jewes, vnto whome he had extended benefites innumerable, and after his tempo: all nativitie were his naturall people and subiectes, he quarelling with them, by declaryng vnto them their abuses, and pypcking them with condigne rebukes, at the last he was not slayne with so easly a death as Codrus was, but in most cruel facion was scourged vntyll no place in his bodye was without woundes, and than had a crowne of long & sharpe thornes

thornes set and p̄cissed on his heed, and after long tormentes and desp̄tes, he was constrained to beate an heyp crosse, wheron afterwarde his both handes and feete were napled with longe and greate naples of yron, and the crosse with his naked and bluddye body being lyfte vp on heyght, it was let falle with violence into a mortayse, that all his ioyntes were dissolved. And not withstanding all this tourment and ingratitude, he never grudged, but lyftryng vp his eyes unto heuen, he prayed with a lounde voyce, sayinge: Father forgyue them, for they knowe not what they do. This was the charitie moste incomparable of the sonne of God, employed so; the redemption of mankynde, who by the transgression of Adam the syrte man that euer was created, was take prisoner by the deuyl, that is to say, kept in the bondage of errour & synne, from the actuall vision of goddis maiesty, vntyl he were in this wylde redemed, accordyng as it was ordeyned at the beginnyng.

¶ At these wordes of Ōrigene all they that were present were wonderfully affayned, and therewith the emperour with a sturdy countenance said vnto Ōrigene: Ye haue wonderfully set forth a lamentable hystorye, but yet notwithstanding therin be thynges dark and ambiguous, whiche do require a more playne declara-  
tion. So; what maketh you holde to affyrm, that Iesus, whyche in this wylde was crucysyd, was the sonne of god & god, as ye haue called hym? Wherupon said Ōrigene, sufficient testimony, whiche of all creatures reasonable ought to be beleued, and so; the moste certayne profe to be allowed. What testimony is that said the Emperour? Truly, sayd Ōrigene, it is in dyuers

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thynges. Fyrst the promyse of god, by whom all this  
woylde was made. Also by his holy spirite speakeyng  
by the mouthes of prophetes, as welle Hebrewes as  
Grekes and other whom ye call Vates and Sybillas.  
Thyrdely by the natuuitie of Jesus of a pure virgyne  
without carnall company of man, the moste pure and  
cleane fourme of his lyuyng without synne, his do-  
ctrine dyuine and celestiall, his myracles moste won-  
derfull and innumerable, all grounded on charitie on-  
ly without ostentation, his vndoubtfull and perfecte  
resurrection, the thyrd day after that he was putte to  
deathe, his gloriouse ascencion vp vnto heauen in the  
presence and syght of fyue hundred persone, whiche  
were vertuous and of good credence. Also the gyfte  
of the holy gooste, in speakeyng all maner of langages  
and interpretynge scripture, not only by hym selfe, but  
also afterwarde by his apostles & disciples, & given to  
other by imposition of their handes. And al these thyn-  
ges ordinarily folowed according vnto the said promi-  
ses & prophecies. I ompt to speake of the confession of  
dyuels, which by Jesus and his apostles in his name  
were cast out of people, which were obssessed. The ora-  
cles & answeres of them, whom ye vntruly cal goddis,  
do remayne in confirmyng this testimony. And whan  
Origene had sayde all this, he forthwith began there,  
and disclosed the answeres of Apollo made at Del-  
phos, affirmyng Jesus to be God. afterwarde he re-  
cyted and declared the prophecies as welle of the He-  
breues as of the Sybillas and other. Last the promyse  
of god vnto the Patriarkes, by the whiche it manyfe-  
stly appered, that Jesus was Christe and god, & that  
by his temporall natuuite he was kyng of Istaell,  
and.

Howe ma-  
ny were at  
the ascencio-  
n of Christe.

and that the Jewes were his natural subiectes. Whiche the declaration of Origene was so evident and plain, and set forth with suche wonderfull eloquence, deuotion, and lerning, that it perswaded the emperour and dyuers other, whiche than were present, wherof Eu colpius was one, to imbrace the profession of Christis faith and doctrine, for the which I gyue most humble thankes vnto god, by whose only grace I was called. And so, that tyme the emperour gaue lycence to Origene to retourne vnto Alexandria: for as moch as he darste not attempte to publyshe the christen faythe by his auctoritie, the persecution of chyisten men beinge but late cessed, and they beinge yet odious to the Senate and people. Not withstandyng in his pryvye closette he had the images of Christ, of Abraham and of Moyses, and beinge by hym selfe he honoured oone god, as I my selfe being often tymes secrete with him dyd well perceyue. And at the laste he made request to the Senate, that there moughte be made a temple to Chyste, wherwith they all were sore greued, and dyd obstinately denye it, sayinge that they had counsayled with the goddes, of whom they had aunswere, that if that were suffred, al men shulde be christianes, and al other temples shoulde be made desolate. Wherefore he ceased his entreprise, but alwaye he was studiouse in the bokes of Chyisten men, and often tymes vsed their sentences. As whan any man wente out of the hyghe waye, and wold passe through an other mans ground, breakyng his inclosure, and rydynge ouer his corne or grasse, if he perceyued it, he wolde cause hym to be beaten with staues or roddes in his presence, after the qualitie of his trespace: or if he were a man of honou

Lamprid.

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or worshyp, he wolde gyue to hym great rebukes, and saye vnto hym, woldest thou haue that done vnto the, that thou doest to a nother? And whan a man was punished for any suche trespace, he wolde cause it to be openly proclaymed: That whiche to thy selfe thou woldest not haue done, do not in any wyse vnto an other. Also whan cookes of the citie claymed a certayne place, whiche chyisten men had, and his pleasure was therin required, he wrate in his rescripte, that it were better that god were there honoured in any maner of fassion, thanne that cookes shoulde haue therof possession.

**E**ucolpius wryteth, that on a tyme he sayd to him, and to Philip his bondeman: I perceyue, ye do wonder at the letynge of Origene, wherby ye be induced to imbrace the christiane profession. Cnewly the humilitie and charytie of the chyisten people, whiche I haue herde of, and do dayly beholde, doo moche more sterte me to beleue, that they: Chyoste is god, than the residue of all his perswasion.

**A**nd on a tyme whan two chyisten men contended proudly together, and they accused eche other of spekynge reprochfull wordes of the Emperour, he calid them before hym, and prohibited them to name the selfes chyisten men, saying: your pwyde and malice do declare, that ye be not the folowers of hym whome ye professe. Wherfore though ye fynde lacke in me, the whiche I wyl gladly amende, yet wyl I not lette you agaynstis iustyce, reproue by your actes hym, whose lyfe and doctrine ye all doo affirme to be vncorruptid and without any lacke.

**W**hiche wordes being ones sprad amouge the chyisten

sten men in the citie of Rome, it made them all after-  
warde more circumspecte, and in humilitie and chari-  
tie to be the more constante.

**C**howe Mammea the Emperours mother exhorted hym to be marid,  
and what wyse aunsweres he made, and fynally toke to wife  
the daughter of a noble & ancient senatour. Cap. xxvi.

**W**HAN THE Emperour was come to the  
age of. xx. yeres, his mother Mammea  
exhorted hym to take to his wyfe some  
mayden of a noble and auncient house, to  
the intent that he mought haue generati-  
on, whiche shoulde be for the sure tranquillite of the  
cittie and empire, and to the p<sup>r</sup>pncipall comfort of him,  
the Senate, and people of Rome. After that he hadde  
diligently herde his mother saye all that she wolde, he  
made to her an aunswere in fourme folowyng: I dare  
well saye madame, that ye haue gyuen to me this cou-  
sayle, of a sincere and naturall loue, that ye beare to-  
ward me your onely sonne. But for as moche as it is  
the mater, whiche within my selfe I haue moche more  
debated than (I suppose) ye haue done, although per-  
chaunce ye haue thoughte moxe on it, I wyll declare  
vnto you, howe I finde in my fantasy, that the taking  
of a wyfe shuld be to the publyke weale and to my self  
moxe daungerouse than fruitefull, specially at this  
tyme. for where ye wyll me to take a mayden, if she  
shal be moche yonger than I am, perchaunce she shal  
not be so apte for generation of chyldyn, stonge and  
lusty as if she were of mo yeres. And I couayce not to  
deface the imperiall maiestie with chyldyn weake and  
vnlusty. Also the sturdynesse of the Romaynes maye  
not.

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not susteyne to be gouerned, but of theym whiche as  
well in personage as wisedome be conuenient & seeme-  
ly. If she shall be as olde, or elder than I am, thanne  
shal I bryng my selfe to moch vnquietnesse and trou-  
ble of mynde. for ye knowe well, it is not yet passynges  
foure yeres agone, that the abhomynable monstre my  
kynsmanne Heliogabalus, lefte not onely the citie of  
Rome, but also all the countrey of Italy so polluttred  
with detestable lecherye, that with moche difficultye  
mought one fynde an house, wherin had not ben com-  
mytted some kynde of that vice, eyther voluntary, or  
els by inforcement. wherefore if I shulde mary one of  
the sayde citie or territory, althoughe I founde her by  
fame and experiance a mayden, yet shuld not that dis-  
charge my mynde of suspition: thynkyng alway, that  
she was rather so kepte by restraynte of lyberty, than  
by her owne chastitie, consyderynge that she dyd here  
or se dayly suche wanton allectiues and prouocations  
to lecherye, that the custome therof dydde assaulte the  
mynde so contynually, that it were well nyghe impos-  
syble to escape vncorrupted, although the body by vi-  
gilant custodye abode vndefyled: And this suspition  
shuld wzap my hart in suche melancholy, that I shuld  
seldome be mery or pleasant with her, whō for mystrust  
I coulde not loue perfytlly. And to take a wyfe of any  
other countrey, ye knowe well it hath not bene the vse  
of Emperours, or other noble men of this cite, I sup-  
pose it hath ben for the warres, which hath & mought  
eftsones happen to be, betwene vs and these outward  
countreys. Wherfore yf the women therof shulde be  
maried to the emperour and other of the nobilitie, and  
that soone after shuld happen hostilitie betwene them  
and

and those countrayes, moche inconuenience moughte come to the citie and publyke weale by meanes of the women in fauouryng their parentes, the meanes I wyl not reherse, for offendyng of you and other ladies, and also sens you and all that are wyse, maye shorte-ly coniecte what I meane. Fynally I am determyned, not to alter that custome, whiche is bothe auncient and honourable. Moreouer I can not be sure to haue generation whan I am maried, and thanne the onely cause therof is vterlye frustrate. And to me, whyche shall be alway in study and busynes aboute the weale publyke, the wyfe remayneth a tedious impediment & charge superfluous. Seblably shal I be vnto her an unpleasant cymbrehouse, syndyng lytell ydell tyne to be in hit company, and being fatigate with busynes abou the weale publyke, I shalbe lesse diligent and pleasant with her, than she wold haue me, wherof mought procede not only contencion betwene vs, but also matter of warse occasion. And where ye seeme to affirme, that my generation shoulde be for the tranquilltie of this citie and empire, and for the conforte of me, the senate and people: Trewely whan I remember what daughters the mooste noble Augustus had, whom for their corrupted lyuyng, and for the grefes, whyche he therby susteined, he was wont to cal them his botches and boyles. Whan I think what sonnes the reuerend Maspasian, the wyse and most vertuous prince Marcus Antoninus, the honorable Neuerus left, for their successors in the empyre of Rome, whyche were all slayne for their detestable lyuynges, O howe lyttelle care I for chyldern, ye howe glad wold I be alwaye to lacke them: that my benefites which I intende to im-

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ploye on the weale publike, by the folye or vice of my  
chylldren be not consumed, men more hating my name  
for that I haue begotten and lefte unto them in the  
steede of a gouernour, a rybaulde or tyraunt for to suc-  
cede me: than they wyl prayse me for myne owne cha-  
ritie. O what sorowe and peyne shall my sowle suffre  
(yf there be any care amonge them, whiche be passed  
out of this wold) whan I shal beholde with immo-  
tall eyes, my chylde, whiche is of myn owne substāce,  
to abandon that thyng, whiche I loued, to imbrace  
that whiche I hated, to be of the Senate abhorred, of  
the people detested, and of al foreyne princes dysday-  
ned, and fynally of all honeste men persecuted lyke a  
serpent or monster, lyke a wolfe or a tygry, infamed  
for lechery, pursynd for tyranny. O happye sterilitie,  
wherby lacketh annoyance. O hateful fertilitie, wher-  
of commeth sycknes or pestylence. I am sure, that fer-  
tilite can no more hurte me, but onely take frome me  
the name of a father, or the dotyng pleasure to se my  
lytell sonne ryde on a cokhorse, or to here hym chatter  
and speake lyke a wanton. And I am not sure that fer-  
tilite shal bryng to me any more quietnes, tha I haue  
all redy. For my chylde being of suche inclination, as  
best shall content me, if dethe take hym from me, than  
shall I languysh in tourmentes incurable, consyde-  
ryng that I can not well susteyne the death of my ser-  
uantes. yf he lyue with me, and be eyther a foole, a ry-  
bauld or tyrant, tha shuld I lyke Edippus scratch out  
myn eyes, rather than I wold behold suche a monster  
pcede of my body: ye rather sée hym with myne owne  
handis, than to let such one to succede me. O if he esca-  
ped me, I wold aske that onely reward of the Senate &  
people

people, that they wolde sacryfyce hym on my tumb  
whan I were buryed. Therfore mother I praye you  
cesse from exhortynge me vnto mariage, vntylle I be  
cherto better dysposed, whiche shalbe, whan in behol-  
dyng one, whiche perchance I haue not yet sene, some  
affection, or I be ware, may in me, as it hath in other,  
surmount bothe lernyng and wisedome.

With these wordes, the wyse lady shewynge her self  
as she were content, departed vnto her lodgyng. But  
it was not long after, that she bode the imperour vnto  
a supper and banquet: And agaynst his commyng she  
had assembled a great numbre of the fayrest maydens  
in Rome, attendynge vpon their mothers, or on some  
other ancient and sadde gentyll women, whome whan  
the emperour beheld, he forthwith coniected the intent  
of his mother. Notwithstandynge he moste gentyllye  
countenanced them all, and shewed hym content well  
with their company, although it were not correspon-  
det vnto his fantasy. But after that he had eaten and  
drunke more wyne than he was accustomed to do, be-  
ing chaufed in body and spryte, in castynge his eyes  
hyther & thyther, he at the last beheld an excellent faire  
mayden named Memmia, which was doughter of a  
noble man called Sulpicius. And after that he hadde  
dysyssed with her, and founde her to be wyse, sobre, and  
of syngular humilitie, he moche loued her, and at the  
laste by the continual prouocation of his mother, and  
consent of his counsayle, he afterwarde marayed her,  
but she dyed shortly after, wherwith he toke no lyttell  
dyscomforte, sayeng oftentymes: So greate a trea-  
sure as I haue loste, a man seldome fyndeth. Deathe  
were gentyl, if he toke nothing but that that offedeth.

P.ii,

Eucol-

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Eucolpius wyll not be knownen, that he had any moe wyues: but Lampridius bseth the authoritie of one Desippus, who sayth, that Alexander had an other wyfe, who was daughter of oone Martianus. But whan it was founde, that he wolde haue slayne the Empetour by treason, he was put to deth, and his daughter separate frome the Empetour. Herodianus affyrmeth, that all that was done by the malycie of Mammea the emperours mother, without other cause, only bycause she coulde not susteyne hit sonnes wyfe to be called Augusta. and therfore she caused her to be exiled into Africa, and all the landes and goodes of her father, Mammea toke and conuerted vnto hit owne profite: whyche repose I suppose not to be true, consideryng that Mammea was so wyse and vertuouse a lady, and being wel instructed in Christis telygion, knew well how detestable vnto god is envy & craultie.

¶ Of the severitie that Alexander vsed, as well towarde them that were pronde, as to them that were malaperte and dyd not theyz duetie. Cap. xvii.



IN A TYME he beinge Censor or correccour of maners with Julius Paulus & Callidius Rufus, and walkynge in the stretes of Rome with a fewe other disgrased lyke communers, he hapned to meeete with a senatours sonne, hauyng with hym a greate trayne of yong menne, whom he and they that were with hym saluted, doinge to hym reuerence: the yong man behelde them disdaynfully, and with a proude countenaunce, without sayinge any thyng: and they whiche were with hym dyd also the semblable, wherfore

fore the Emperour at his retayne home to his palayce  
incontinent discharged the fader of the sayde yonge  
man out of the senate: sayinge, that he was not wort-  
thy no; meete to be of that reuerende company, wher-  
by the weale publyke oughte to be gouerned, and the  
emperour hym selfe to be chiefly counsayled, sense he  
had so yll broughht by his sonne, that not onely he hym  
selfe lacked humanitic, and extended a moxe stately fa-  
ction than pertayned to his degree, but also by his ex-  
ample caused them that were with hym, to embrase  
pryde, whiche is captayne of vices, and chiefe confou-  
der of all publike weales. None after he sente so; the  
sayde yonge gentylmanne and his companions, and  
sharpely rebuked them, saying, that pryde is the most  
horrible monster, and of al men so hated, that it is not  
had in detestation of good men onely, but also to them  
whiche be prouide, they that be lesse prouide be in deede  
of all other moste odiousse. And as pryde sleeth loue,  
prouoketh dysdayne, kendleth malycy, confoundeth  
Justyce, and subuerteth weales publyke, soo gentyl-  
nesse and assabilitie doo sterte vp affection, augmente  
beneuolence, incende charitic, suppose good equitie,  
and preserue moste suerly countreyes and cities. And  
after that he had charged them to abandone and leaue  
the sayde kyng and other, and to imbrace vertue and  
gentyll maners, whereby they shulde acquerre moxe e-  
stimacion than by highe countenance, and menacing  
them, that if the sayde faulte were estesones spyd in  
them, he wolde not only exclude them from hope of al  
dignitie, but also from the name of nobilitie, and put  
them in the number of the base communers, and so he  
let them depane.

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**C**his sharpe correction aualid many a proude hart so that by custom of gentilnesse, pride was so moch abhorred throughout the citie, that if any manne, perchaunce by a naturall habite or fascion, or vnaduysedly and not of a purpose, seemed to theym that behelde hym, to haue a proude countenaunce, he was eyther laughed at, or disdaynfully wondred at, soo that he was constrainyd, had he never so sturdynge a courage, to be a shamed. Wherof proceded a prouerbe: Slaues and bondemen haue only this libertie, to vse a proude countenaunce, bycause they be shamelesse: and noble men be knowen alwaye by theyr gentylnesse.

**C**It was not longe after that the emperour lokynge out at a wyndowme of his palayce, perceyued certayne gentylmen exercisynge them selfes in wrastryng, runnyng, and leappynge, to whome came cettayne communers of the base people, and without any sygne of reuerence, or askynge leaue, they myngled them selues with the gentylmen, and malapertly enterpryzed to contende with them in those recreations, with arrogante bostynge and sturdynge wordes of presumption. And whan the gentylmen beinge therewith offended, bade them be contente with theyr degree, and elles wher to passe the tyne with theyr companyons and equalles, the sayde communers takynge that in despyte, with countenaunce bragginge and sturdynge, prouudelye made answere, that every of theym was better able to lyue, & had more abundance to vse liberalitie, and to haunt pleasures, than the besse of the other. And if the emperours garde had not come the soner, the communers had faught with the gentylmen, and put them in danger, for they were mo in nombre. This as it hapened

the

the Emperour beholdinge, he toke therwith a behement displeasure, beinge therfore so angry, as erst he was neuere. Wherefore he caused the sayde communers to be kept in saufegarde, and straightly commaunded, that nothynge that was done shulde be rehersed, vntyll he had further declared his pleasure. And forthe with he sente for the Prouoste and Tribunes, and required them to sende theyz mynisters to summone all the communers of Rome beinge men, to be the second daye folowinge in the Theatre of Pompey, where the emperour in his owne persone wolde also be presente, and declare to them thynges concernyng the mooste daungerouse state of the weale publyke. The Emperours commaundement, accordyngely was executed. And a haulte pase made at the ende of the Theatre, where the emperour shoulde syt in his maiestie, and all the people shulde playnelye beholde hym, and perfittely here hym. So the Theatre was a place made in the fourme of a bowe that hath a great bente. And in all the rounde parte were many benches one behynde an other and ouer an other (for it was narroweste beneath, and upward greate larger and larger) And there sate all the people. At the straite ende, whiche was to the other parte as the stringe to the bowe were the seates of the Senatours, and behinde them of the gentilmen. At the tyme appoynted, the people beinge in the Theatre as they were commaunded, the Emperour came accompanayed onely with the Prouoste and Tribunes, leauyng all his garde at the gate of the Theatre. At his comynyng all the people dydde ryse, and with mooste ioyouse acclamations, dyd salute hym: but he contrary to his olde custome, with a displeasaunte coun-

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countenaunce passed by them. wherat they were not a lyttel abashed, and with hattes ful of a louing dreade and constant silence, they p[re]pared they[re] eares to here attentifely what the Emperoure woldes saye: who after that he had longe behoden the people, at the laste with a graue countenaunce full of maiestie, he spake vnto them as hereafter foloweth.

**C** The oration of the emperor Alexander to the people of Rome. Cap. xviii.

**W**e wote not how to begynne to speke vnto you, for we knowe not by what name we shall call you. for if ye were Senatours, we wold cal you fathers: if ye were gentylmen, we wold call you frendes: yf ye were as ye shulde be, good comuners, we wold call you good people of Rome, as we were wonte to doo. But sens election hath not made you senatours, nor nature gentylmen, nor your merites good comuners, we be in no lyttell doubt what we shall call you. for yf we shulde call you Romaynes, we feare lest Romulus, of whom p[re]ceded that name (if he be deified as ye do suppose) being therwith offended, wyl be aduenged as wel on vs as on you, for abusyng his glorious name on such peple, whiche goth about to dissolve this noble empire, destroy this citie, whiche he syssie began with his moste excellent p[ro]wesse and wysedome, and that wars is (yf any thyng may be wars) extinct bittrelye the moste honourable and glorious fame of this citie and people thereof, whiche hath perced the cloodes, flownen ouer the hygh mountaynes, and passed the percyllous sees & large ryuers, runne through the great deser-

desertes and wylderincses, and touched the further-  
moste boundes of the wrold. We wyl therefore omitt  
to call you by any name, bntyll we can fynde one mete  
and accordyng unto your merites. Perchance at our  
commynge, ye beholdyng our countenaunce towards  
you moxe straunge than it hath ben, thoughte that we  
were inued with some priuate dyspleasure, for some  
thyng touching our person, or that we were altered  
from our late temperance, unto a tyranny, conceyuing  
suspition of our nature, by the remembraunce of that  
monster our late p<sup>r</sup>edecessour, forasmuche as we bothe  
came of one lynage, whyche I denye not. Truly, yf  
this were your fantasy, we wyl soone acquitte our selfe  
therof, and set all your myndes at a moxe lybertie. We  
wyll say this moche unto you, as touchyng our per-  
sonne and family, no man with wordes hathe offended  
vs, no man hath taken aught from vs, no man (that  
we knowe) hath gone about to betrap vs, nor there is  
any other thyng priuately done to our incommoditie  
that hathe dyspleased vs. And as so<sup>r</sup> our accustomed  
maners, whiche dyd content you, we haue not, nor in-  
tend not to alter them. Tyranny, as we haue euer had  
it in extreme detestation, so do we nowe moste abhore  
it. The corrupt nature of our p<sup>r</sup>edecessour had never  
place in vs. One gardyn at one tyne bryngeth for the  
bothe poysone and holsome medycine. We see one wo-  
man, whiche by one man hath many childef, of them  
some be fayre and personable, some ylle favoured and  
crooked, some be wyse and apt unto doctrine, other be  
fooles and dull wytted, one is couragious and hardy,  
an other is a basarde and cowarde, this chylde is gen-  
till and inclyned to vertue, the other is ficer & wrap-

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ped in vices. This is not a rare thyng, but in daylye experiance. If this dyuersitie happeneth to be in one gardyn, and in the generation of one father and also one mother: than may we wel escape the cause of your suspition, we & Heliogabalus hauyng dyuers fathers and dyuers mothers, and they as diuers in their condicions, as ye your selues can beare wytnesse, whiche haue knownen and sene proued the chaste lyuyng, sanctimony and prudence of our reuerend mother, and in what honesty and vertuous dyscipline she hath nou-  
tryshed vs, & brought vs vp, vnto the tyme that by god we were called vnto this dignitie. This oughte to be ynough, as welle to perswade you, that neyther anye thyng concerning our selfe hath moued vs to displeasure towarde you, as also to exclude out of your myndes all suspition of tyranny. Nowe shall ye know the very cause why we be discontented with you. Soz all though we sayd at the begynning, that ye went about to dissolute this empire, destroye this citie, and extincke the gloriouſ fame therof, whiche in dede is the cause of our displeasure and heupnes, yet in those generall wordes, ye do not perceyue (I suppose) what we mean therby. Wherfore take good hede, and ye shall here it declared more specially.

**R**omulus after that he had buylded this citie, he by his diuine reason conſidered, and (as I doubt not) in the tyme of the buyldynge experiance declared, that in a confuse multitude of people, they being of diuers wyttes and condicions, if order lacked, there mought not be a perpetual concorde, but by contynuall vari-  
ance and dyscoerde, the people of necessarie shoulde be compelled either to abandon the citie, and leue byng them

them selfes to seke for sundry places to dwelle in, or abydyng there in contynual sedicion, shuld shortly and easly be subdewed or dystroyed by their neyghbours dwellyng about them. Wherfore he vsuyng of a gentyl and noble house, excellyng the resydue of the people in noble courage and synenesse of wyt, fyft deuyfed and stablyshed this order, that the company, whiche he had assembled as well of them, whiche he had brought with hym, as of those which he out of diuers partes had allured unto hym, shulde generally be called Romaynes for euer: And that of them shulde be thre states or degrees, every one of them necessary for the weale publyke of his noble citie, in their sundrye administrations, dueties, and exercises. To the fyfte state he chace out of the hole cōgregation one hundred of men auncient in yeres, whiche in moderation of lyuyng, sobernes of maners, and sharpnes of wyt, were of the princypall personages of all that noumbre, of them he ordyned and stablyshed a counsayle, wherby the affaires of the citie, and appendaunces therof shuld be ruled and ministred. And these counsaylors for their age shulde be called Senatours. (for Senes in latyne are olde men) nor withstandyng beinge saluted or spoken to, they shulde be named fathers. Also the college or company of them was incorporeate by the name of the senate. Moreouer of this collidge, shulde be elected the great Judges and offycers in the weale publyke, to whome shulde be committed the determination of Justyce, the execution of ceremonies and soleinne sacrifices, and other authoritie, whiche do belong unto gouernance. Wherfore he wolde that in this state there shoulde be a mestrie, whiche of all

Other

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other men shulde be had in a syngulat honour and reverencie. Semblably lyke as this state was ordyned for counsayle and gouernance, so elected he out of the resydue, whiche were lussy in yeres, valyant and havy, a grettet numbre, whome bycause in warres they shulde be on horsebacke, he callyd them Equites, and the order he called Equestris, to them shoulde chifely pertaine the defence of the citie agaynst the invasion of ennemis, with other smal administrations, about the necessary prouisions and ornametes of this noble citie. And this state also wolde he haue honoured of the reste of the people, and to thintent that they shuld be knownen from other men, he assigned them to weare a tynge, and to beare in their handes lauelyns, wherof afterwarde they were called Quirites, whiche in the olde tunge of this countrey signified speare men. Of this state shulde be elected the Senatours, whan the iuste numbre of the Senate decayde. The thyde state was of the base people or communers, to whom seuerally shuld not be committed any authoritie, but shulde apply their occupations, and be ready to execute the statutes and ordynances made by the senate, also be obedient to the great officers, in that which pertayned bnto the weale publike: Moreouer whan warres required that they shulde go forth, than to be obedient and diligent at the commaundement of their capytaines and leaders. This order being stablyshed by Romulus, as long as in euery degree it was duly obserued, howe meruaylously dydde this citie prosper, ye howe wonderfully dyd a fewe Romayns in regarde, not onely defende this lytell territori, agaynst the great numbre and puissance of dyuers and sundry people, confes-  
dered.

dered agaynst theym, but also beate them backe vnto their owne howses, entred into their cities, despoyled them of theyz substance: & also compelleed them not onely to desire perpetual peace, but mozeouer at the last to become theyz subiectes & tributaries. And whan this good order began to be brokē, your state aspityng to gouernāce & rule, where ye were ordeined to obey only: what yere can ye fynd clere from sedition and dysordre amounge you: who can number the Romaynes, whiche haue ben slayne in the ciuile warres and commotions: who coulde without teares recite the dolerouse astate of this cite in the time of Cinna and Marius, whome for disdayne that ye had vnto the nobilitie, ye dyd eleuate vnto the highest dignities. By this your disorder came vnto the citie sundry calamyties. Ye chasse Caligula to be your Emperour, and wherough there be found a more horible tyrat: withs whiche name he so moche delyted, that lokynge in a glasse he wolde mooste diligently fourme his visage into the most terrible facion: Also in recompence of your kinde nesse, he wylched that all the people of Rome had but one necke, that he moghthe stryke it of at one stroke. I am ashained to reherce my predecessor and kynseman Heliogabalus, the detestable vessel of abhomination. But ye ought to be moore ashamed, that ye setting a part so great a nombre of honorable personages, as were than in the senate, for theyz experiance wisdome and prowesse, worthy euery of them to be Emperours, chasse the sayde Heliogabalus, a stranger boyme, a boye in yeres, a foole in regarde of theyz wisedome, to be your soueraygne lord, who broughte you to the most bille subiection that any people were in the worlde: for

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is there any thynge in mankynde so byle, as to be vnder the condition of brute beastes: what beaste can ye name that wyll suffre in his presence an other beast to occupie in the acte of generation her, whome he hath chosen for his make and companion: but to his power wyll resistre and syght with hym. Heliogabalus helde you in suche captiuitie, that partely to auoyde his displeasure, partely to flatter hym and get somewhat of hym, ye not onely suffred hym to abuse your wyues & your chyldren, suche as beste lyked hym, but also increased your bordell houses, and with open eyes lette your wyues and your chyldren dayly and nyghtely to haunte them. And openly in the stretes (whiche I abhorre to reherce) to apprechende men, and prouoke the to lechery. I omitt for the shortenesse of tyme many suche other elections, whiche haue proceeded of your grosse and presumptuouse wyttes, after that ye hadde transgressed the order, wherin Romulus left you, and exceded the termes of your offyce or duettie: whiche at the laste was perceyued by you (as I dydde suppose) whan ye beinge tediousse of that beastely lycence, whiche that beaste Heliogabalus gaue freelye vnto you, had slayne hym, and toke me to be your emperour, althoughe with all my power I refused that burden, vntyll I was by the Senate and you constrained to take it. And than desyred you me, to reduce the state of this citie vnto the fyfthe order. Wherabout I haue trauayled these eyghe yeres, with not a lyttell payne, study and labours: begynnyng at myne owne housholde, to thintent that as well by the exaumple of my seruauntes and officers, ye and other being vnder my rule, mought the soner refourme your selues, as also that

that ye mought the better perceyue, and be lesse offendyd with my seueretye. And bycause I dyd se moch til example procede of the Senate, also that ye were oppressed with the pride and corruption of iuges and officers, I vsynge moche diligence weeded them out, and discharged them of theye authorites: ne they went not vnpunished accordyng vnto theye merites.

**C**I purged also the state of gentylmen of ribauldes and riottours, and aduancynge ther vnto other, I caused them to be dayly exerctised in actes of prouesse, orelles to here lessons in such maner of doctrine, as therby they mought acquerre more wisedome to be officers or counsaylours in the weale publyke. Onely the state of the people I dyd not visite, sauyng in punishment of theues, for as moche as I iuged that ye had leaste libertie to do any great puell, beinge (as I sayde) oppressed with tyranny. And that those vices which were amonge you, lyke as they were taken by the example of your superiours, so trusted I, that by theye punishment, the sayde yll maners shuld be forsaken, and by the vertuous example of suche honest men as I haue put in theye places, good maners shulde be as gladly imbraced. But nowe I perceyue all hath hapened contrary to myne expectation, for the sparinge of you, and the correction of my seruautes, with the sharpe reformation of the Senate & gentylmen, hath broughte you vnto suche a presumption and arrogance, that ye contend to be equal with gentylmen, vsynge no foyme of reverence vnto them, eyther that ye thynke, that I feare more your puissance, than I favour theye honesties: orelles that your rychedesse doo make you so proud, which per abusynge in excesse vseries, per ther with

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with denoure the patrimonies of many yonge gentylmen, and haue made them beggars, or by the severitye of the auncient lawes of this citie, taken theym in bondage and slayne theym in ironis. And by suche colourable rauine, ye haue bought great possessyons in Grecia, Sicile, and Spayne, wherby ye accumulate treasours and pleasures lyke to great prynces. If ye thynke me to be aferde of your puissance, your oppynition is false. for above all thynges I mooste desyre to dye for the defence of the weale publyke of this noble citie: and in dede rather wyl I dye, than see the calamities whiche nedes muste ensue ther unto, if order be not kepte, as I before haue declared.

**C**At that worde all the people cryed with one voyce pouryng out teares from their eyes, Lyue most noble and gracious emperour, he that wolde your death, let hym dy, let hym be rent into pieces, our puissance shall not annoye you, but unto deth shall defende you, ye haue restored vs unto lyfe that were dead, unto libertie that were in thraldom, unto honour that were dishonoured. Lyue vertuouse emperour, and what lacke ye fynde in vs, refourme it, and we shal obey you, and he that wyl resist or rebell, let hym be slayne and drawen with a hoke throughe the citie, and throwen into Tyber. Ye be in gouernance our father, whome we chyefely wylle honour. In age ye be our mooste derest sonne, whom more tha our owne lynes we do fauour. And than estesones they cryed, Lyue mooste gentyl and ryghtwysse emperour.

**C**Hereat the emperour relented, and with moch pena-  
tayned the teares of his eyes. And after that he had  
settled his sprites and countenaunce, he spake than  
unto

unto them in this wylle: I am well contente that ye  
have declared, that there is yet in you some portion of  
vertue, whiche gryeth me hope, that neyther the no-  
ble renoume of this citie begunne by Romulus, and  
augmented by other honourable gouernours, nor my  
labours in destroyng therof, when it was decaptd, and  
lykely to perishe, shall falle into ruyne. But yf ye be  
constant in this affection, I truste that ryght shortly  
the publyke weale shall flourishe, and that this citie  
and people, shalbe in as moche exlymation as euer it  
was in the tyme of any of oure progenyours. And  
nowe haue I founde agayne your olde name, wherby  
I wylle calle you: Ye chyldeyne and successours of the  
vertuous Romaynes. I say you most victorious peo-  
ple, branches of Romulus, subduers of realmes, sam-  
plers of vertue and prowesse to all the wozlde, miti-  
gate your couetous appetites, expel from you auarice  
and ale poure hygh couraiges, I meane in excedyng the  
boundes of your popular state, and comparyng your  
selfes with your superiours, be charitable and mercy-  
full to your owne countrey men, where their necessitie  
may be relieved with your abundance. be you asha-  
med, that peple of other countrys, people barbarous  
and rude, shuld condemne you of crueltie, for destroy-  
inge your gentilmen, the chiese ornamant and defence  
of this noble citie, that they shoulde reproche you of  
rudenesse and pypde, in omptynge to doo reverence to  
them, whiche do in order excelle you. Rememb're, that  
lyke as if the state of senatours do decay of the gentil  
men are elected into the senate such as be vertuous: so  
ye that shall be founde equal to them in vertue, (for  
your substance onely can not make you gentylle) shall

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be aduaunced to the state of gentylmen accordyng to tayson. Than consyder yf ye wolde not than also require to be preferred in reuerence. Nothing shall more cause a man wyllyngly to do his duetie, than to think what he wolde require of hym that is inferiour vnto hym. And it hath ben sayde of wyse men, that he, whiche wolde be a ruler, shuld fyrt leme to be a good subiecte. For truely a proude and couetous subiecte, shall never be a gentylle and temperate gouernour. Howe haue I no more to say to you, but applye your selfes with good wylles to restore this citie to the auncyent and moste laudable oder, as I shal endeuour my self by example and diligence to bryng it esoones vnto his perfection.

Thus ended the emperours oration, and therwith he arose and departed, all the people poursuyng hym with this acclamation: The goddis immortall keepe and defend you most noble emperour. ye ar the crown of our glory, of our welthe and prosperitie: hated be he of goddis and of men that wolde you displeasure. Do what best lyketh you, the goddis immortall defende you.

The feuerie that the emperour Alxander vsed in chasse syng as well the pypde of the people, as also his men of warre or sondiours. Ca. xxiv.



FTER that the emperour was returned home to his palayce, he decreed, that the sayde communers shulde be depuyed of their lybertie, and name of Romaynes, and to be deliuert as bondmen vnto the sayd gentylmen, with whome they presumptuously had

had contended, and so to remayne in that state, excepte they redeme them selues by makynge the sayde gentylmen, in possessions and mouables, better than they theym selues were, whan they contended (so; in dede the sayde communers were vrye ryche men, as welle in substance mouable as vrely renenues) that done, they shuld be eftsones restored vnto their lyberty, ad- dyng thereto, that it shuld not be lefull vnto the sayde gentylmen, to infranchise them in any other condicione. Fynally the sayd communers abhoyting servitude, in continent redeme their heedes, accordyng to thempe- touts decree: whiche example was found afterwarde so profytale to the weale publyke, in retaynyng the auncient order, and restraynyng sedition, whiche be- fore that tyme nowe and than happened, that it was thought of al men, that there was never decree or law made, that was more benefciall vnto the cytie. And the emperour was therfore not onely feated, but also more honoured and loued of al the people, whiche were good citzens and chiefly fauoured the weale of their countrey.

**L**yke seueritie he vsed to all other states, as partly it is before rehersed, and partely I wyll nowe briefly declare. He so herde the complayntes of souldours agaynst their capitaynes, that ys he founde any captayne in fault, he punished hym according to the qua- litie of the act, without purpose to pardon hym.

Lamprid.

**L**yke austeritie he vsed to them that serued hym in warres. So on a tyme whan he herd that one of them had done wronge to a poore olde woman, he dischar- ged hym of his retayner, and gaue hym to the woman to be her bondman, that he being a carpenter, shoulde

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with his craft and labours relieue her. And whan the  
resydewe of the souldours were therewith greued, he  
perswaded them to be therwith contented, and dydde  
put them in feare to grudge at it. Oftentymes he dys-  
charged hole legions, never fearyng his armes, for as  
moche as neuere man coulde reproue hym, that in his  
lyfe any capteyne or petite capteyne toke or detayned  
any thyng of their souldours wages. whan he came  
to the citie of Antioche, his men of warre fell to wan-  
tonnesse, hauntyng womenes baynes, and other riot-  
tous pastymes: whiche beinge brought to his eare, he  
caused them all to be apprehended and put in prison,  
whiche being knowne to them, whiche were of the fe-  
lowshyp of those that were taken, they began to make  
a commocion: Than the emperour wente to the place  
of iudgement, and caused the prisoners to be broughte  
before hym, the residue of men of warre, standynge  
al armed about hym. And than began he in this wise.  
**C**ompaniōs in armes (so that the actes of your fe-  
lowes do discontente you) The discipline lefte to vs  
by our auncetours mainteyneth and kepereth the weale  
publyke, the whiche if it be let to decaye, we shall lose  
as well the name of Romaynes, as also the Empire.  
We maye not suffre thynges to be doone, whiche late  
were supported by that vncleane beast Heliogabalus.  
The Romayn souldours yout felowes, and my com-  
panions in warre, they haunte brothelles, tauernes,  
and baynes in the greke facion, and thereto one prouo-  
keth an other: shall I suffer this any lenger, and not  
stryke of theyz heades? Therewith arose a greate ru-  
mour and noyse in the people. Than sayde he againe:  
ye that be here, cry out whan it is necessary in bataile  
agaynst.

agaynst your ennemis, not agaynst your empour  
and soueraygne loide. I dare saye, your cappaynes  
caught you to use those cryes agaynst the Polones,  
Germaynes, and Persianes, not agaynst hym that  
hath gyuen to you meate, lyuerye, and wages. Ceasse  
therfore of your terrible cries, whiche onely be neces-  
sary in warre and batayle, lest that I with one mouth  
and one voyce dyscharge you Romaynes, and yet I  
doubt where I may so call you. For ye be not worthye  
to be of the people of Roine, yf ye knowe not the lawe  
of the Romaynes. And whan they cryed lowder, and  
also menaced hym with their weapons, he eftsoones  
sayd to them: Put downe your handes, whiche yf ye  
be valyant, ye shulde aduance agaynst your enemies,  
for these thynges do make me nothyng aferde. And yf  
ye flee any man, the publyke weale, the senate, & peo-  
ple wyll not fayle for to reuenge vs. But whanne they  
brauled & murmured never the later, he cryed to them  
with an hygh voyce, sayeng, Get you hens Romans,  
and put of your harneys.

**C**al wonderful exaumple, they all puttyng of theyz  
harneys and souldyours cotes, departed every man  
to his lodgyng. There was it perceyued howe moch  
his severitie profyted. Thanne the emperours garde  
brought all the standerdes into the camp, and the peo-  
ple them selfes brought all theyz armure to the empe-  
ours palayce. And the legion whiche he had dischar-  
ged, after that he was sued unto, xxx. dayes before he  
wente to warde Persia, he eftesones restored into his  
place, and by theyz prowesse moste specially, he after-  
warde baynquished his enemys. Not withstandyng  
of he departed, he commaunded all the capitaynes of

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the sayde legion to be beheaded, bycause that through theyr negligence, the souldiours passed theyr tyme riotously in a place of excellente pleasure called Daphnis, and had made the sedicion, they wynkyng at it.

Chowe the Emperour Alexander refourmed the Ssury,  
wherof he speake afore in his oration made to the  
people.

Capi. xxx.



ONE AFTER that Alexander had chastised the pypde of the common people of Rome, as before is rehersed, he hym selfe came into the Senate, and there declared the sundry inconueniences, whiche had hapned, as wel to the citie as vnto the countreyes thervnto subiecte, by the detestable practise of usury, whiche utterly repugneth agaynste all humanitie, charytie, and naturall beneuolence, that oughte to be amonge people that doo lyue in a mutuall concorde: but most specially among them whiche lyue vnder one obedience, vnder one lawe or polycye. The inconuenyences whiche hapened, he shewed to be these. Syrste wher the gentilmenne, and the more parte of men of warre, were from theyr cradelles brought vp in idelnesse, beyng not instructed in any occupation or science, saulfe only in feates perteynyng to warre, in the tyme of peace and tranquilitie, or whan the warres be not so great, that they require the hole puttaunce of Rome, than they whiche be not sent forth to batayle, some do passe theyr tyme in daliaunce and bankettyng with wanton women, or at dysse and other chargiouse solasyng, or in bothe, with the one and the other, shottely consuming theyr sub-

substance: some do delyte in other excesse pleasutes, as to haue great and beautiful houses, large and ample orchardes, and walkes inclosed with hyghe and stronge walles great pondes and meeres, conuaping therunto by a longe distaunce the salte water through rockes and mountaynes, and to haue in them dypuerse strange kyndes of fysshes. In the whiche entrepyses, they also haue not onely consumed theyr goodes and patrimony, but also the warke aboue theyr expectacion, ferre excedyng theyr power, they haue bene constrainyd to bohowe great sommes of moneye. Other there haue ben, whiche of an ambitious courage, haue vsed prodigall expenses as well in continual feastes and bankettes, as in disttributions of greate sommes of money amoung the people, and gyuyng great rewardes to corrupte Denatours and other great offyders, to attayne before theyr tyme, or not being worthy to some hyghe place or dignitie: wherby, they beinge broughte into pouertie, haue ben also constrainyd to seeke helpe of other, to mayntayne theyr folynge. All these personnes howe unprofytable they be vnto the weale publyke, reporte me vnto you, specially if ye consider also, that whan they haue bohowed so moche, and the somes bohowed being so increased by usury, that they be not only in desperation to bohowe any more of their creditours, but also in the state to be greuously punished accordaninge to the lawes: than despise they some alteration in the weale publyke, than fyssh they ouer the ambitious courages of them whiche are in auctorite, and betwene whom of the noble men is envy disdayn or pypuate displeasure, than seke they matter of sedition within the cite, whiche not being wisely repressed, hath

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hath at his backe diuision of pates, ciuyke commocions, often tymes battayle and destruction of people. Reade the histories of Rome, and see howe often they called for newe tables, that is to saye, that the instrumentes and obligations made for dette, shuld be cancelled, and those dettes acquyted: and vntyll it was done the commotion ceased not. Nowe se ye, that the chiefe cause of this inconuenience, was the sapde pestilent practise of usury, whiche as the occupiers dyd se the wantonnesse and prodigalitie of the nobylite, gentylmen, and other increace, so dyd they augmente it, moze estemyng theyr propre lucre than the weale publyke, charitie, beneuolence, or natural humanitie. Wherfore in my iugement suche usurars amonge the Romayns ought not to be numbred, but if they be not wyllyngely reformed, they shoulde be taken and vsed as perniciose ennemis vnto vs all.

Here all the Senate, except a fewe, with one voice commended the zelouse intente of the Emperour, and offered theyr consentes in makyng suche a lawe as shulde seme to the Emperour and them expedient, vnto the redresse of so great an enominitie. Than one Catelius a noble Senatour, and a man of great vertue, sayde in this wyse.

The sens  
tence of  
Catelius.

Myne opinion is noble Emperour and reuerende fathers, that no kynde of usury shal be here practised within this citie, but syste I wold that setche be made diligentlye, howe many Romaynes, and who they be. whiche are entred into bondes, for the payment of usury, and likewise who be the creditours, and the principall det being knowne: the creditours to be compelled by an edict of your maiestie, to holde them content with

With repayment of the summe or value of the thyngē  
that they lende. And than by an ordynaunce of this  
counsayle, the sayde p̄incipall deutes to be payd oute  
of the treasure of the citie, the dettours b̄yngynge in  
payne or suretie to repaye it within fyue yeres vnto  
the treasɔ̄res. Also that no man shall lende moneye  
or any thyngē els, whiche the dettour shalbe constrainē  
to change into money to serue his comoditie, vpon  
any condition bat gayne or promyse to haue lucre  
by the sayde lone. And if that he do, all his mouables  
to be immedately forfayted to the commune treasɔ̄y.  
Moreover, that yf any Romane shall happen to be in  
necessitie, by any myssfortune or casualltie, or by neces-  
sary charges, whiche he coulde not escape, that he shuld  
come to the p̄ouoste of the citie and treasɔ̄ers, b̄yng-  
ynge with hym one senatour and two of the people,  
men not suspected of infamy, whiche shall sweare by  
the goddis preseruatours of the citie of Rome, that  
they knowe, that the necessitie doth not procede of the  
sayde yll occasions: That done, he shall lay in his suf-  
ficient payne, or b̄yngē in two hable persones to vnde-  
rtake for the repayment of the money, whiche he wyl  
borowe, the treasɔ̄ers shall deluer so moche to hym,  
as to the p̄ouost and them shall seeme to be sufficient  
for his necessitie. And yf any other man wyl beneu-  
tiently lende them that, whiche they wyl desyre, without  
p̄actyse of usury, yf the borower hathe consumed his  
goodes in such foly as before is declared, that than he  
shall not be charged with the repayment of that that  
he borowed, but that the creditour be cleerly excluded  
from thensforth, to haue for his sayde lone any maner  
of remedy. But if constrainē or myssfortune do cause

the necessitie, and any man lende to an other for a benevolent charitie, without any colour of vsury: than yf the dettour neglect the repayment therof, and wpl-lingly let the day passe whan it ought to be payd, than he without mercy to sustayne the rygour of the common lawes of the citie. And so this lawe being well ex-ecuted and neuer omittid, we shall neither haue vsu-our dwell in this citie, nor gentylmenne landlesse, nor persones sedicious, whiche shall be able to annoye the bnyuersall weale publyke. Nowe ye haue herde myne opinion, wherto ye may adde or make soime thing lesse as it shall seme best to your excellent wysdomes.

**C**han the emperour desyred Gordian an auncient senatour, who is named before, to shewe his opinion, and he tysen out of his place, pausing a lyttell, sayde in this wyse.

The sens-  
ence of  
Gordiane

**C**lerned whan I was yonge, noble emperour and fathers, that he whiche shal gyue counsayle, specially to the makynge of lawes, ought to consider fourthe thin-  
ges, That his counsayle be honest, that it be necessary, profitable, and possible. Thre of them haue be remem-  
bered by Catelius Seuerus, the fourthe it seemeth that he had forgotten. I do well agree that the thyng that he wolde haue done is charitable, and therfore is ho-  
nest, also that it is necessarype to represse the ryottouse and prodygall lyuyng of gentylmen: it is profitable vnto the weale publyke, to haue all occasions of sedi-  
tion, & sedes of warre ciuile to be extirpate. And truely no better deuyse may be founde than Catelius, accor-  
ding to his great letynng and wysedome, hath ryght well declared. But let vs see, yf the reliefe appoynted by Catelius, for the whom he nameth worthy to haue

it, shall be alway certayn and possible. And if not, thā  
must we in stede therof, fynde somme other prouysion  
more certayne, though it be not so easy, that good men  
in theyz unwylyng necessitie be not disappoyned. Is  
it possible to weye, that the comon treasure shal be al-  
way abundant, that is to say, able to furnyshe al thin-  
ges necessary for the weale publyke, & in the ouerplus  
to be also sufficiēt to releue the said priuate necessities?  
Consyder the greatnes of this noble empire, the great  
numbre of realmes, countaynes, and cities, whon the  
prowesse of our noble auncetours, haue by force con-  
strayned to be subiecte vnto vs, and by force we kepe  
and retayne them. Thynke you, that they all wyl euer  
remayne in peace and tranquillitie? Do you not know  
that all lyvynge thynges desyre lyberty, and mankind  
most specially? Remember you not, that wyl constrain-  
ned seketh euer oportunitie to slappe of his colar: For-  
gette you, that almoste yesterdaye the Moores began  
to rebelle, and had shaken of their yoke, had they not  
bene quickly repelled by **Furius Celsus**: Also the  
great countrey of Illiria, fro me whens we haue our  
chiefe men of warre, made late a commocion, whiche  
had ben no smal daunger and losse to this empire, had  
they not ben valiantly and wisely pacified & brought  
in good order, by the noble capitayne **Varus Macri-**  
**nus**, kynsman vnto our maiestie mooste noble empe-  
rour. Armenia was in peryll to be loste, if it hadde not  
ben well defended by the prowesse of **Junius Palina-**  
**tus**. And it is doubted of some, whether the Germanys  
wyl contynue the leage that they made with vs. It is  
privily muttered amonge the people, that **Artaxerxes**  
kyng of Persia, dothe gather moche people and trea-  
sure

S u

ture

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sure, intendenyng not onely to subdue all Armenia, but also the hole countrey of Asia, vnto the see of P<sup>o</sup>ropontis, whiche deuydeth Asia from Europa, claymyng it in the auncient right of the kynges of Persia. What other people wyll do, we be vncertayn: As vncertayn be we, what treasure wyll be sufficient to furnysshe all thynges necessary agaynst those peryls. Ye we be not so sure of our prouinces & auncient dominions, from whens we haue our yerelye reuenues, pensyons, and tributes, but yf other rebell and p<sup>o</sup>cuayle agaynst vs, (whiche the goddis forbed) puissance faylyng vs, and good fortune forlakyng vs, it is to be supposed, that they wyll rather pay nothyng than ought, be also governed rather by their owne countreymen, than by vs that be straungers. Than what haue we lefte vs to kepe this noble citie, to defende vs, our chylderne, our wyues, the temples and aulters of goddis immortall, yf our common treasure be not ryche and abundant, wherwith we maye gette succours in some place, prouyde vitayles sufficient, and strongly fortfy our munitions & fo<sup>z</sup>tresles? Also we be not sure, where warre shall assayle vs, eyther by lande or by see, if it happen to be by the lande, yet knowe we not whither it shalbe in dyuers countrays or one. yf in sundry countrayes, than must we haue dyuers armes, and dyuers prouissons, accordyng as the state of the countrayes requireth, some beinge feruently hotte, some excedyng in colde, the one full of mountaynes vnap<sup>t</sup> to cartage, the other thicke of wodes: this lackinge freshe water, that drowneth in fennes. If it be on the water, than be the charges greater and moche more vncertayn, shippes with their takelynge and ordynaunce aboue all other

other thynges beinge mooste costly, and ostentymes of  
their enneies mete theym, they be ryther deuoured  
with stormes, or by contrarye wyndes constrainyd to  
runne on quycke sandes or rockes. Wherefore we must  
alway haue a great numbre of shippes in makynge,  
and a greatt noumbr of personnes retayned to fur-  
nyshe them. I wyll not ompt the mooste necessary prou-  
ision of grayne for this cyttie, whiche ostentymes by  
scarsitie in the countray adioyning vnto vs, we haue  
ben cōpelled to make in countreyes far distant from vs  
at very high p̄ices, which if the like necessarie happen  
vnto vs, vndoubtedly it wil exhaust woderfull tresoūs.  
These thynges consydered, it shall seeme (I doubt  
not) expedient, that the common treasure remayne al-  
waye vntouched, but only for commune necessarie, the  
incertayne wherof proueth it impossible, that the cō-  
mon treasure shall be euer sufficient to releue the p̄y-  
uate necessarie of them that are spoken of, sense misfor-  
tune, and other constrainyd meanes vnto pouertye,  
shall euery daye happen to some man. Wherefore nowe  
let vs deuyse a moore certayne prouision. And trewely  
fewe men haue so moche compassion and charitie (the  
moore pitie is it) that they wyll lende theyr goodes to  
an other man, haue they never so moche, excepte ther-  
by may retourne to them some aduaantage or profite.  
And to constrainyd them to lende (except it were for de-  
fence of the weale publyke) it were agaynstis iustyce.  
Wherefore fynally this is my sentence, lette a certayne  
gayne be lymited by the Emperours maiestie, whiche  
beinge thoughte by vs tollerable to the borower, and  
competently sufficient vnto the creditour, let it be de-  
clared by the Trybunes vnto the people, with the re-

S. III. Sydue:

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hydue, whiche was indifferently and wylsely devised by  
Catelius Seuerus. And I doubt not, but that it wil  
lyghtly passe and be inacted by all theyz boyces.

**C**his oration and sentence of Gordiane was well  
commended, as well of the emperour, as of all the se-  
nate. In conclusion, after a lyttell debatyng, it was  
appoynted by the emperour, that the creditours shuld  
haue for the forbearynge of euery Sestertium (which in  
englysh money of olde grotes, wherof. viii. made an  
ounce, amounteth to. iiiii. li. xvi. s. viii. d.) for euerye  
daye lone, the thyrdde parte of As called Triens, (which  
was the thyrdde parte of an olde Romayne peny called  
in latyne Denarius, whiche was the poyse of an old en-  
glyshe grote, and so the vsury for the hole yere aoun-  
ted in Romaine money to. xii. pense one As and. ii. Tri-  
entes, in accompte of Englyshe money. iii. grotes, the  
tenthe parte of a grote, and two partes of a tenth part  
deuyded in threer partes, whiche somme moughte be  
more easely cumpeted by the Romayns, which had the  
sayde small money Trientes coyned, thanne by vs that  
haue no suche money. Not withstandyng for as mo-  
che as it well appereth, that the gayne by the lone of  
one hundred poundes sterlyng by the hoole yere, a-  
mounteth not by this reckyning but to. iiiii. li. xii. d. and  
the thyrd part of a grote or there about, comptyng by  
the olde grotes, wherof wente but. viii. to the ounce,  
of the money currante, wherof do go. xi. grotes to the  
ounce, the vsury amounteth to. v. li. x. s. viii. d. ob. or  
there aboute, whiche wyl seeme to all men, not beinge  
vsurers, to be a gayne sufficient and reasonable. But  
nowe to retourne to our matter. This sentence of the  
Emperour and Senate beinge declared by the Tri-  
bunes

bunes, as it was appoyned, all the people with most  
joyouse spites, and as loude as they could crye, con-  
sented that it shulde be made a lawe perpetual in euer-  
y pouer, accordyng as the Emperour and Senate  
before had deuised it. wherupon incontinent the acte  
was drawn and publyshed as hereafter foloweth.

**C**h. lawe concernyng fforise made by the Emperour, Senate  
and people of Rome. Cap. xvii.



**O N E C E S S I T I E** be confydered frome  
henseforthe in theym that consume theyr  
substaunce in dise playnge, outragious  
expenses, or lechery: who so euer lendeth  
to them, let it be at his rooperd and with-  
out hope of remedy.

**C**x whom fortune peruetfe, longe syckenesse, scrupul-  
tendeslypp, disloyaltie of them that be trusted, the-  
ues or oppresours haue broughe unto pouertye, to  
hym let men extende theyr compassion and charite: or  
if his necessarie do constayne hym to borowe, let hym  
come to the prouoste of the citie, and declare his neces-  
sarie, and wherof it proceded, haunye with hym one  
senatour and two of the comunes, persons well kno-  
wen and credibl, whiche being deposid, that his wo-  
des be true and unfeyned, and what they suppose shall  
be sufficient to releue his necessarie, the prouoste shall  
assigne one riche man of the citie, if the partie hym self  
name not a nother, to whom or to hym that is named,  
the prouoste shall directe his letter in the name of the  
Senate and people, wyllyng hym to delyuer to the  
sayde persone, the somme that he nedeth, takinge of  
hym sufficient suettie for the repayment of the somme  
that

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that he lente, with the increase for every daye sparinge of one Sestertium, xii. Romayne pence, one As, and ii. Trientes, and so after that rate in all other sommes aboue the somme of Sestertium, and not to excede that gayne in any maner condicion.

**H**e that refuseth to lende for this gayne, let hym as vnwoorthy the name of a Romayne, or to take any benefyte by the weale publyke, be of the Censores depyned of the name of a citizen, & noted for euer with the cryme of ingratitude. This lawe decreed by the Senate, inacted by the people, confirmed by the imperial maiestie, be for euer established, and never by any other lawe, custome, or ordynance to be abolyshed. And who that with violence resisteth agaynst it, let him be taken for rebell and ennemy unto the weale publike.

**C**what loue and beneuolence the emperor shewed to the people of Rome, and of other his wonderfull vertues. Cap. xxvii.

**A** HAVE HERDE moch declared of the vertuous seueritie or sharpenes of this noble Emperour Alexander, nowe shall you here as moche of his gentylnesse, pacience, and assabilitie. After that the sayde acte was proclaymed throughout Rome and Italy, the emperour calyng to his remembraunce, that the sayde lawe was made onely for them whiche hereafter shoulde be constrainned to borowe, and that there were many at that tyme in daunger, whom by that acte shulde take noo benefyte, he beinge moued with pitie, caused sodaynly setche to be made by the Censores, howe many were in the daunger of vsury. And than sente he for all the vsurers, and after that he had a lytell blamed theym for

for they; amarice and ingratitide towarde their countrey, at the laste alterynge his countenaunce & speche vnto a more myldenesse, he desyred them al at his contemplation, to take for that tyme they; pypncipal sum that was boorrowed, and clerly to remytle all the desydue, pypnlyng, that the moneys shoulde be payed to them out of his treasure. Whiche requeſte of the Empetour was pponounced in so gentyl a facyon, that the creditours with one voyce not only graunted vnto it, but also pponyſed to remitte part by his arbitrament, wher he thought conuenient. whiche the Empetour moſt thankfullly takynge, gaue the creditours leaue to departe, comandynge them to kepe the thyngē ſecrete, vntyll they haue more of his pleaſure.

Than commanded he, that all ſuch as were runne in the daunger of dſtry, ſhulde be warned to come beſore hym, not at one day or tyme, but ſyſte they which were reputed and knownen to be men of honeſtie, and by ſome myſaduenture were broughte vnto pouertie. And beinge trewely certified what goodes or landes they had in poſſeſſion, he remembred to them what per̄tyl they were in, and laimted the ſtate of the citie, that the genyalmenne, by neglygence or lacke of good hufbandry, ſhulde be in bondaſge and captiuitie vnto the communitie, whiche ought to be iuſticiours to theym, and doo to them reuerence. Sayde he, whent is the noble couraſe of Romulus progenyter who foloweth Minicum, Publicolam, Curium, Sabyntum, noble Senacours, whiche after that they haude baynquished pypncis, and achiued ſundry great victoies, both dyuerſe tymes Consules and Dictatours, the highest dignitieſ within this citie, they lyued ſoo moderately,

¶ that

THE IMAGE O F

that rather thanne they wolde be subiectes to the au-  
tore of other, they chuse to lyue in poore howses of  
husbandry out of the citie, with a potte full of wortes,  
and suche a small picaunce for them and theyz wiues,  
as nowe our seruautes wolde disdayne to be fedde  
with. And leste abundaunce at any tyme, shulde pro-  
uoke them to lyue more delycately, they refused not  
only great summes of money sent to them by straun-  
gers, but also possessions offred them by the Senate  
and people, for theyz indeuour and labours about the  
weale publyke. Thus I saye vnto you, whome al-  
thoughe my saduerture, or charges infi;ced, haue ex-  
hauste some or the more parte of your substance or pa-  
rimony, yet haue ye not therfore abated your dyete,  
nor absteyned from pleasures, nor mynished your fa-  
mily: but without vsyng good husbandry, and with-  
out circumspection, haue contrary to the sayd honora-  
ble Senatours, chosen rather to spende your olde age  
in misery, and to be in bondage vnto your inferiours,  
thanne ye wolde recayne in captyuptie your wanton  
appetites.

**B**ut here whan the Emperour perceyued that they  
were ashamed and made heuy countenance, than said  
he vnto them: wold ye not gladly be estones at libert-  
tie, at the leaste way out of the danger of usurp? They  
with a boyce mooste lamentable aunswered: Ye noble  
Emperour. wyll pc sayde he, with good wyll pape to  
your creditours the princpall duetie, haupnge tyme  
conuenient that it maye be leuied of your possessions,  
haupnge left vnto you some pacion to lyue on. They  
aunswered: ye noble pypnce, elles were we unhappye.  
Notwithstandyng amonge them were some, and not  
many

many, whiche had not lefft either goodes or posses-  
sions to paye the hole duetie. Than the emperour with-  
drew hym into his chamber, and caused them severall-  
ly to be brought vnto hym one after an other, and ac-  
cording to their substance in possessions or mouables,  
he rated them to paye of the pryncipall dette, some all,  
some more and some lesse. And bycause they had not  
the money than ready, he promptyng to discharge them  
of the sayd payementes by theyr consentes, assigned to  
them, whiche had possessions, two partes therof, and  
the thridre partie he reserved to hym selfe, vntyll the  
summe were therof receyved, wherto they were rated.  
Of theym that had goodes and no possessions, he ap-  
pointed that the summe, wherbyto they were rated,  
shuld be valued in theyr sayd mouables by theyr own  
frendes, and be brought vnto some place, where by the  
Emperours officers it shuld be receyved. And ere they  
departed, he caused in theyr presence, every summe to  
be severally tolde out of his cofers. And than sente he  
to all the credittours, and puttynge them in remem-  
brance of theyr gentyll promyse made vnto hym, and  
declaryng also what he hadde done, he caused everye  
mannes portion accordyng to the sayde rate to be de-  
livered vnto them. And so, them whiche had neyther  
goodes nor possessions, he payed halfe of the pryncipall  
dette out of his owne cofers, with a clere acquittance  
vnto the partie. And commaundyng the credittours,  
to bringe to hym cancelled the obligations and instru-  
mentes belongyng to the sayde dueties, and gyving  
to them harty thanks, he let them departe.  
¶ Semblably perswadynge the credittours to frugali-  
tie or moderate luyinge, he also prayed them to so see

T.ii. as

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as moche as they could that wylfully they commyssy-  
not theym selfes to the hasardes of fortune. he than  
imbacynge theym selfe, hadde theym fare welle. who  
gyuynge to hym thoste humble thankes, and so ioye  
pourynge oute abouaunce of creates, departed with  
gladde spedynges honie to theyp houses. As for them,  
whiche at dises plapinge, in riote and lechery, had con-  
sumed theyp substance, he if any were lefte, caused it  
to be valewed as well possessions as mouables, and  
to be diuided amonge theyp creditours, accrodynge to  
the quantitie of the true dette: And in satisfaction of  
the remaunte, he adiuged them bondes: soo that for a  
certayne tyme as the Emperour wold appoynt him,  
hauynge regard to the dette, he shulde setue one cre-  
ditour, and afterwardis an other, in moste bille setup-  
pes, receyuyng therwoe nothyng, but onelye meate  
drynke and clothyng, belongyng to slaves. And that  
the creditours shulde haue ouer them equally as mo-  
che authoritie as they had ouer them whiche they had  
bought or taken in batayle. Not withstanding it was  
at the libertie of the creditours, to aquise them of their  
service, but not to infraunchisise them, bntyll the tyme  
were expired, whiche was by the emperour appoynted:  
but duryng that tyme, they wate continually the ha-  
bitre or apparaile assigned to bondemen, ne were elles-  
emed for Romaynes, nor entoyed any pypulge. If  
they obediently serued and contented theyp creditours,  
at the ende of the tyme, whiche the emperour appoin-  
ted, they were set at libertie, and restored to their syss  
astate and condition. But if they fledde frome theyp  
master, or contemnptuously withstode his comande-  
mentes, fightyng with hym, or doing to hym any nota-  
ble

ble iniurie, they were condemned to perpetual seruitude during they; lues. They which had left nothing to pay their creditours, to them he appointed a longer captiuitie, esteemynge the value of his seruice as wille to the faculcie of the persone as to his astate and condicione. As if he were very wyttie, well lerned, or a perfect artificer, by reason wherof his seruice moughte semme very commodious or profytable. Also beinge a gentylman, the more estimation that he were of, the more greevous and odious to hym shoulde be his seruice and punishment: wherefore to the one and the other, lasse tyne was thought to be suffycient, than to them whiche were of grosse wytte, or ignorant of good occupation, or els base or byle of condicione.

**C**his ordynance beinge put in due execution, It was thought at the syzt of some men to be very cruel, but after that it was ones perceyued, what a meruallous frugalitie or temperance of living, was sodely founde, as wel in the citie of Rome, as also through out all Italy. Also what delyte menne tolde to be seene them selues moderate in apparel, honest in lyving, also exercysinge them selues in pastynges conuenient, not dishonest or chargeous. Also to haue them in detraction, whom they founde in any maner of wise attempyng the contrary. Then extolled they the excellente wytte and vertue of the mooste noble emperour. And where aforo they called hym cruel and tyrannous, they ceassed not to name hym equal to the goddis, mooste benigne and mooste gracious, confessyng that hadde not ben his seuertie, they al with the citie and knyghtes had biterly perysched.

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¶ Of the circumspect curiosite of the emperor Alexander in admynstyng counsaylours. And of his answers touching that matter. Cap. xxviii.



THE INCOMPARABLE diligence of this noble emperour about the weale publyke, is to be meruayled at, and of all principis to be obserued and folowed: for what by his owne trauayle and excellent prudence, what by his continual scrutiny by wise and honest espialles, he assuredly knewe the qualities, maners, and appetites of al men (except very fewe) dwel- lyng in Rome or Italy, which either by reason of their possessions or substance, or for any other estimation amonge their neyghbours, were lykely to be called to some authoritie. Also of all those, whiche in other regions and prouynces, were so; some cause notable or famouse. This knowledge caused hym to be circum- specte in admynstyng counsaylours and other great of- fycers. As among many examples I wyl declare one, wherof I my selfe can beare wytnesse.

¶ After the deathe of Quintilius Marcellus, a man in great authorite about the emperour, as he was wel worthy for his syngular wisedome and vertue (in so moche as it was thought, that there was never a better man boorne in Rome, and therfore the emperour dyd extremely lament his deathe) the noble man Frontine, whom also the emperour entirly loued, awyting his tyme, aduaunced to hym with a commendable report an honourable personage, who was named fabius Macrinus, to be in the place of Marcellus. Alſet that the emperour had herd and wel considered the woder of Frontinus, wherby was set forth the ancient stocke from

from whens fabius descended, his greate possessions and substance, the grauite of his personage, his great experience in sundry auctorities: the empetour dydde caste on frontine a dyspleasant countenaunce, and after that he ceassed to speake, the emperour made answere in this wyle.

**H**olwe moche hath your iudgemente deceyned vs frontine: holwe could ye this longe dissemble with vs: I had thought that ye had euer esteemed the stocke by the fruite, and not the fruite by the stocke. No man commendeth the boughes or braunches, bycause the stemme of the tree is great, longe, or streighte: but yf they be well spreadyng, thicke of grene leaues, & well sette with good fruite, than men saye that tree hath a faire toppe, that tree bereþ good fruit. And although the tree be never so misshapen or crooked, the owner wyl digge about it, and use al diligence for to preserue it: but yf the stocke be never so faire, if the boughes be rotte or seare, the owner wyl shede them, & throw them into the fyre. If the fruite be unsafty or withered, who taketh any great hefe of the tree? who wyl gather the fruite: but rather let them rotte on the tree or fall downe, for he careth not for them. Who loueth rotten groundspill or poise, bycause that it was part of an auncient house: who setteth by a tagged a telly or yll famoured colte, bycause that the harreþe, wheretoþ that lynde is comen two hundred yeres passed, wan the prixe of runnyng at the game of Olympus: I confesse, that long continuance in any thing that is good addeth an admiration, but no p[er]apse to the thyng: all be it the thyng founeden good, prayseth the contynuance or longe enduryng[e] therof. A good chylde reþeþ

lyeth

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weth and also augmenteth the prayse of his parentes: the yll chylde caseth out of mennes hattes the fathers honour and benefydes. Also great possessions or substance, maketh vertue suspected, bicause they be mysters of pleasaunt affections, and also nouitices of wanton appetites. Moreouer the grauitie of the personage is not pursued by stately countenaunce or dydaynfull splence, but by constrance in vertue, and wodes alway apte for the tyme and purpose. And experiance, whiche is not commended by laudable actes, doth deserue no more prayses, than the gate of a blynd hors aboue a wyde hyspeynill, whiche gyndeth no corne. And that olde capitayn, whiche in many batayles and tourneys hath ben founde alway negligent, deserueth no garande. Many authoritie do require an exquise trespall, sozsmoch as authoritie doth abate feare, & minister boldnes, boldnesse draweth in licence, licence is mother of myschife, whiche neves must be suffred bntyll fauour tenueth. These thynges confydered Frontinus, eyther your iudgement is not so perfecte as I wold haue taken it to be, or els ye secretly winkyng at the sayd faultes, haue dissembled longe with me, and kepte thynges from my knowlege, contrary to your allegiance and dutie.

**C**with these wordes Frontinus being aferde, kneled downe, and besought the emperour to pardon him of his foly, confessyng that he had not percyte knowlege of the dispositiō and maners of the said fabius, but sozsmoch as he had ben fauourable toward him and his frendes in his ministrations, he mutually desyred his aduauncement.

**C**Thereat smyld the emperour and sayde: Whalif this

this plague never ceasse, which in roialmes and cities  
hath so longe raigned: that mutual beneficence blyndeth  
mens judgementes. And whiles power with ple-  
asures getteth great acquaaintance, vertue is unbno-  
wen, and in the courte stendes. I knowe, frontinus,  
that pride in **Fabius Macrinus** is a domestical vice.  
For in all the house of **Fabius** it hath ben excedyngly  
noted, and in some hystories remembred. And in this  
man as well the remembraunce of his auncient nobi-  
tute, as his long continuance in authourtie, hath moze  
increased it, as I my selfe haue marked, and also herd  
other murmurynge at it, whan I haue secretly wal-  
ked in the cptye in a pryuate apparele. Wherefore I  
wyll not that he be in our counsable nor palayce, that  
either his pride shulde be of yonge men folowed, or of  
olde men dysdayned, or of vs suspected. His greatte  
possessions & ryches declarereth, that he can not be with  
a lyttell contented, sens the moze parte therof he hath  
gathered vnder the colour of his authozities, beinge  
not lefte vnto hym by his owne parentes, nor received  
of our lyberalitie, nor by the gyfte of our predecessors.  
And very seldome where honour increceth auarice abateth. I hate not **Fabius** in the state that he nowe is,  
although I fauour not in him the said notable vices:  
but if he were never vnto vs, we coulde neyther su-  
steyne them, nor suffre hym unpunysshed, yf he than-  
ded them. Also in his longe experiance I never herde  
hym for iustice commended: but I haue herde his ar-  
rogance, his longe delaþeng of suiteres, and his parti-  
alitie, of many dyspraysed. Truely such a man is nei-  
ther mete to be a nigh counsailour, nor to say the truthe  
in any great office. These thynges consydered **Frontinus**,

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tinus, speake no moze of hym, but serche for some other, in whome synceritte and temperaunce be typoned with wylsdome. Suche one, yf he be of an auncient house, shall bryng to our palayce an honourable remembraunce of his noble progenitours, and as welle to noble as vnnoble shalbe an excellent patern or presydent. If he be but late come to worshyppe, his aduancement shall ingender in noble men an honest enuy, eyther to excede hym in vertue, or at the leste to be iudged equall vnto hym. to poore men it shall be an allecche and roote of good hope, that they be in the ranke, wherre the rewarde of vertue is dealyd. ¶ And thus cessed thumperout to speake. And frantinus departed, being both ashamed of his enterprise, and abashed at the wylsdome of his noble mayster.

**C** The moste noble answere of Alexander made to Asprenus, concernyng the dysablynge of Septilius Rufus in his absence. Cap. xxviii.

Aspridius



HE EMPEROVR hadde a custome which was very commendable, that he never made any senatour, without the counsayle of the hole senate, and every senatour shuld gyue his sentence, also testimony of his lyuyng, & credence shuld be brought in by honorable personages. But yf eyther the senatours that spake, or the witnessses were foulden to haue spoke vnltruly, they were rejected into the lowest place of estimation among the people, being also condemned as deceyuers or forgers, without hope of remyssion.

¶ There was dwellyng in a village by Roine a gentylman called Septilius Rufus, whiche was ryghte well

well learned in all partes of philosophy, and also in the sciences lyberall. But sozasmuch as he consydered the frequent alteration of the weale publyke, with the manyfolde peryls & troubles in the administration therof, he of purpose withdrew hym therfore as moche as he mought, although his fathet had bene a senatour in his lyfe, and he amonge his neyghbours and dyuers of the nobilitie was had in good reputation. And notwithstanding so the causes before rehersed, and that he desyred nothynge so moche as quietnesse of mynde, and to solace hym selfe in the moste pleasaunt herbar of science, and bysiting the moste dylectable warkes of auncient wyrters, he seldom came to the emperours court, or reforted to playes or banquettes, ne dyd come to salute the great offycers nor men in authoritie, as the vse was at that tyme. And amonge the yonge galantes he was not beloved, bycause he fauoured not theyz cyattous pastymes. And the men of lawe hadde hym in dysdayne, bycause he repugned agaynst their subtyll gloses, and blamed their auayre. Finally he being fully content with the golden meau, liued right honestly in a manour, whiche he had competently fur- nished with possessions sufficient for the prouisyon of his meane household, whiche was to his neyghbours moxe bounteous than sumptuous. q. and so quorified

¶ After that the emperour had purged his palayce and the senate of unworthy persons, corrupted with detestable vices, and with moche difficultie founde other to set in their places: It happed, that some good man named to hym Herclius Rufus, declarynge the common report, whiche he had herde of hym. The emperour, who knew all to be true that was spoken, held

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his peace notwithstanding, harkenyng what shulde  
be other mens sentences. The moare parte of theyn,  
whiche were present, assyrmēd, that Rūfus for his ho-  
nestye wysdome and letynge was mete to be of the  
senate, but thre or fourre sayd nothyng. At the laste Al-  
phemus a great lawyter, and in good estimation with  
the Emperour, objected, sayeng, that Rūfus not with-  
standyng that he was lerned in dyuers sciencies, yet  
was he neyther profoundly lerned in the lawes ciuile,  
nor moche experiented in assayres of the empire. And  
that his lyttell husbandy and small prouision about  
the increace of his lyuinge, declared hym to be a man  
of no great polycie, nor of any dexteritie about thyng-  
es of importance. And that the aptitude of his na-  
ture, was only in studious meditation of sundry sci-  
encies, and in wrytinge more than in doing. Addyng  
to that philosophers were never good practysers in a  
weale publyke, nor yet good men of warre. Wherfore  
in as moche as he that is a senatour, not only oughte  
to be a man mete for polycike gouernance, as welle in  
gryuyng counsayle in matters thereto pertaynyng, as  
also beinge chosen to be P̄etor, or to any other myni-  
stration of Justyce, not to be ignoraunt in gruyng  
iudgement in causes brought before hym: but also he  
oughte to haue some experiance in macciall assayres,  
that beinge chosen consul, or leader of the hoste of the  
Romaynes, he mought se the men of warre to be well  
instructed and exercysed. And that in all thynges be-  
longyng to warre, the state of the citie be sufficiellye  
furnyshed. Moreouer, that in battayle ioyned eyther  
by his ignorance or basenes of courage, the Romayn  
army be not dystroyed. These thynges considered, it  
semed

semed to hym, that it was not expedient to receive Rufus into the number of Denatours.

**C**he emperour heryng Alphenus, and beholdyng that no man proffred to speake after hym, except thre or fourre mo, whiche were lawpers, and one Onnius Camillus a noble man, who had some dyspleasure towarde Rufus for one of his seruantes: these seemed by their countenaunces to approue the sayeng of Alphenus. That perceyuyng the emperour, he lokyng on Alphenus speake in maner as hereafter foloweth.

**C**I see well Alphenus, that not onelye the vulgare and unlettered people be angrely sterred and do retain displeasure agaynst them, whiche withoute malice, do rebuke in a generaltie the vices and faultes, which be founden amonge them: but also (whiche I doo lament) men specially chosen for theyr wisedome and learning, do disdayn them that rebuke the abuse of that study or exercise, whiche these wyse men most chieffelye haue haunted. I knowe that Sertilius in one of his bookes hath sharcely noted the detrimente doone unto justice by couetouse lawyers, whiche by theyr subtiltytutes haue inuolued the lawes curle into suche obscure and ambiguouse sentences, that noo man withoute theyr declarations, may knowe howe to do or minister justice in cases, for the whiche the sayde lawes haue prouided. Nor they that make lawes can exposit them afterwarde without a lawier, whiche perchance was not syste priuie to the lawe makynge. These and lyke annotations of Rufus do not a lyttell offend you that be lawpers, althougt ye haue abandoned practise. And that dyspleasure onely hath caused you to make this conclusion, that Rufus is not mete to be of

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the Senate the residue of your argumente doth suffi-  
ciently proue it. Fyrist the diuersite of sciences, where  
in your selfe doo confess, that he is well lerned, dothe  
not disable hym to be a Senatour, but maketh hym  
more conuenient and necessary for so noble a counsall.  
So to whom doth it more apperteine to use wordes in  
theyr propre signification, and to set them in order, so  
that they make not the sentence peruerse or doubtfull,  
than to a senatour, or one hauing rule in a weale pub-  
lyke, and that is the thyng whiche grammer teacheth.  
Logike is none other, but the scyence of reasonyng,  
helpynge naturall wytte to fynde truthe more quicke-  
ly out of dyuersle opinions, by assyninge or denying:  
whiche in a senatour maye not be spated. A man shall  
not well gouerne a citie or countrey, and sette in good  
order the maners of people (as Plutarche sayth) ex-  
cepte he be wel founynched with eloquence, wherwith  
only he maye perswade, affectuously sterte, inclyne,  
and leade whete he lyketh the myndes of the multy-  
tude: And that is besse lerned by Rhetoryke. Howe  
many thinges happen in the state of a citie or Realme,  
whiche requireth a diligente and exacte computation  
with numbers: and that by Arithmetike is besse per-  
cuyed. In assignyng of boundes and limites, also  
to the making of munitions and fortessis, also in de-  
visyng of engynes for warres, who dare say that geo-  
metry is not expediente: whiche describeth equalitie  
and unequalitie, aptnesse and unaptnes, good propo-  
portion, and deformatie. Also without armony nothynge  
is semely or pleasant, and by concorde and discorde  
all publyke weales do stande or decay: ye and as some  
philosophers haue wryten, by them all thinges hadde  
theyr

Grammer  
Logike.

Rhetorike.

Arithme-  
tyke.

Geometry

they begynnyng. And this is beste vnderstande by the scyence called musyke. Moreouer he that leadeth Musyke, an arm, if he be instructed in the dyuerse temperatu-<sup>2170</sup>  
res of sundry countreys, by the naturall discourse of the sunne, by the syue cerkies, the alteration of houres in day and nyght, by the distance of clymes and par-  
reles, whiche be sensible lynes and spaces, wherby the sunne passeth about the firmamente: Also the moone with her mutable figures, and special authoritie ouer waters and humours, the naturall influence of other celestial bodies and signes, I meane in plenty of scat-  
sity of thynges concerning mannes sustinaunce, & in stormes of caulmenesse of wether: All whiche thynges be knownen by the diuine science called Astronomie. I  
saye if a capitayne be therin instructed, and not to mo-  
che curiose or arrogante, he shal the more saulfly kepe alway his arm. Julius Cesar beinge therin exactely learned, vainquished by celerite and sundry p[ro]uen-  
tions not onely the fortune and mooste experie chualtrie of baliant Pompey: but also the incomparable wyt-  
ties of syue hundred Senatours. And our noble p[ro]-  
genitour Hadriane the Emperour was thoughte to haue exployted thinges in batayle by the helpe of this science aboue mennes expectation. Iompe Hercules,  
whiche became disciple to Atlas for the communodytie whiche he thoughte to finde in astronomy. Fynally as ye al knowe, I haue had no lyttel delyte in these fourre mathematicall sciences, and yet haue for the utilite that I fynde in them, when I do contemplate the per-  
fekte state of a weale publyke: And the same is app[ro]ved bothe by Plato and Aristotle whiche shapeth their examples by proportionis of Arithmetik, geometri, and musyke.

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mislyke, where they wryte of concorde in vertues or  
polityke gouernaunce. This well considered, a sena-  
tor eyther for gyuyng of counsayle, or for beinge a  
capitayne in warres, shall fynde none impediment by  
hauyng these sciences, but vsynge them moderately,  
and as occasion requireth, they shalbe to hym not on-  
ly an excellent ornamant, but also a necessary treasure,  
and to all sortes of gouernaunce a thyng right expe-  
dient. What although **Sertilius** be not profoundly  
lerned in the lawes ciuile: is that a good argument,  
that therfore he may not be a good counsaylour, or in  
other authoritie about the weale publyke: Consysteth  
all the senate of lawyers: O: standeth the weale pu-  
blyke, and all her affaires onely by lawes all redy sta-  
blyshed: May no publike weale be without lawyers:  
How many noble **Senatours** haue there ben, and yet  
are, whiche never radde ouer all the. ri. tables: and  
yet haue they befound to reason wittily, and minister  
prudently. Be lawes any thyng els than rules of  
Justice, wherby she commandeth what shuld be done,  
and what ought not to be done, where a weale publik  
shuld prosper: Than is it euident, that Justyce ma-  
keteth lawes, and not lawe Justyce. Also he that redeth  
the lawe, seeth the commandement of Justice, but se-  
inge the lawe onely in that that he seeth it, he doth not  
knowe Justyce, but contrarie wyse, he that knoweth  
Justyce, by hit may discerne what is ryght or wrong,  
what is equal or vnequall, and by the paterne of Ju-  
stice may inuente a remedy propise and necessary, whi-  
che expressed in worde or writing may be called a law.  
The knowlge of Justyce eyther hapneth by speciall  
influence from the hygh god: or els it is gotten with  
the

the study of wisedome, comprehended in the booke of  
wyse men, who of Pythagoras were callid Philosophi,  
whiche dothe signify the louers of wisedome. Wher-  
soe they which eyther by diuine inspiration, or by stu-  
dy of the warkes of excellent wise men, haue the truest  
knowlege of Justyce, and haue best understandyng  
what is iuste, and what is vnjust, and consequently  
can prouide remedies accordançyng to iustyce: which re-  
medies if they ones be made vniversall, they be lawes.  
howe so euer they be pronounced, be it by a multitude  
or by one persone, as the edict not onely of the empe-  
rour, but also of hym that is Precio, is a lawe, as wel  
as that which is made by al the hole senate, or inacted  
by the Tribunes and people of Rome.

¶ And where ye saye that phylosophers were never  
good practysers in a weale publyke, no; yet good men  
of warre, yf ye doo meane by practyse, that detestable  
exercyse, whiche is subtyll deceyving, crafty entermi-  
nyng, mayntenance of iniustice, peruerse counsailing  
and unmeasurable gettyng. I confirme than youte  
sayinge. for a phylosopher abhorretth suche practyse,  
and as moche as he may doth and perswadeth the con-  
trary. But if ye do intende by that word practyse, only  
the laudable exercise in thadimyngration of a weale  
publyke, truely ye be in a greate errour and soleyn, and  
do speake as if ye were one of the vulgar people igno-  
rant of letters, ye and that mores, prouate dispreasure  
hath caused you to forget what ye your self hath sen,  
contrary to that whiche nowe ye haue spoken. I wyll  
not reherse all them, whiche beinge studious in philo-  
sophy haue gouerned publyke weales, or haue execu-  
ted their ministracion therin substantially: but some

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wyll I speake of.

**C**who gouerned Egipt and Libia moze nobly, than dyd Hermes called Mercurius Trismegistus : and what philosopher was in al sciences equal vnto him : Who euer kept his countrey in suche a quietnesse, and made it so ryche as dyd Salomon kynge of the Hebrewes : whyche as it is founden in their hystories, translated into greke by the commādement of Iohome called Philadelphus kynge of Egypte, was soo great a philosopher, that he dysputed of all thynges naturall and supernaturall : and so his wonderfulle knowlege there came to here hym out of all partes of the wozlde men and women, beyng at that tyme in mooste reputation of lernyng : was euer this citie of Rome in so good order as it was duryng the tyme of Iulius Cæsar, whiche was. xl. yeres, who beinge an excellent phylosopher and a pryuate persone, was chosen to be kynge, and soo moche moze is his gouernance to be commended, that he brought the people, whiche were rude, fierse, and euer continually in warres with their neyghbours, into so good an ordet and temperaunce of maners, that they whiche before were their enmyes, had them in admyracōn and reuerence : who made better lawes or better ordred the common weale of the citie of Athenes than Solon the greate phylosopher, as longe as they coulde susteyne theyz owne welthe : The same citie had neuēr a moze noble Capytayne, nor a moze valpaunt than was Peleus : who with Anatagoras contynuallye studied phylosophye. And to descende to a moze late tyme : where was there a better capitaine, or a moze noble warrior than Scipio Africane : who hadde alwaye with hym Polybius

Polibius the philosopher, and in vacant tyme soun battayle he either herd him rede, or disputed with him. Semblably Lucullus was so studious in all kyndes of lernyng (as Thucarche wryteth) that wher he herd that any great lerned men disputed togyther, ther wylde he go, and studiously here them: and (as the same autho, saythe) he haunted and imbraced all kynde of philosophie, with mooste familiar acquayntaunce and custome, specially that whiche was called Academica, or the doctrine of Plato. And was there euer a moxe noble, a moxe poltyke or moxe valyant capitayne, and moxe esteemed and dread of mooste puissant pryncis than he was? Lord god what a senatour was Cato called Uticensis: whose vertue was wondered at through the wold, whose magnanimitie and incomparable severite more profyted unto the publyke weale of the citie, than the victories of Pompey and Cesar. And was not he so studious in philosophie, that he could not temper hym selfe, but that he must nedes rede Greke booke whan he satte in the senate: what consul can pe compare to Marcus Tullius, who only by his diuyne and mooste excellent wisedome preserued the publyke weale and citie of Roine frome vter subversion, whiche nedes must haue hapned by the conspiracy of Cataline and his confederates, if it had not ben by the incomparable witt of Tullius found out, and by his diuyne eloquence plainly conuynced, and by his wonderful wisedome suppressed and cleane extynguished? And howe studious he was, and exacyt lerned in all kyndes of philosophie and eloquence, his mooste noble warkes do declare with fame immortall. I passe ouer Sigidius, Macro, Crasea, and many o-

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other sage and honorable senatours, whiche were not onely excellent philosophers, but also prudente counsaylours and valyant capitaynes. yet wylle I reherte some, whiche were in the tyme of your remembrance. The emperour Adriane was so profoundely lerned in all philosophye, that he dysputed openlye at Athenes with the chiche phylosophers of all Grecia, and vanquished Phauorinus, who at that tyme was of all other moste famous: and to what prynce or captyain gyueth he place, eyther in marciall prouesse, or ciuyle gouernance? What moxe hono<sup>r</sup> euer hapned to Rome than that Marcus Aurelius Antoninus succeeded immedately Adriane, whose lyfe was confessed to be the moste certayne lawe vnto al people to rule or be ruled: And he for his exquisyte knowlege in all philosophye, was most commonly called Antonine the philosopher, not by reproche as som wold suppose it: but for a most excellent and rare commendation. And what man dyd euer moxe encrease the weale publike, or better defend, it, than dyd this most noble and vertuouse emperour? And be it of you receyued without suspicion of bothe, as it shall be spoken of me without any baynglo<sup>ry</sup>: I whiche may not be compared with the moste inferiour of them before named, eyther in lernyng or prouesse, yet howe moche I haue amended the state of the weale publyke, ye all can beare wytnesse: And that I haue nothynge appaised the imperial maiestie, it hath bene of the Senate and people in your presence confessid. And this coulde I not so well haue doone, yf I had not instructed my wytte with the doctrine of philosophers. What saye you by Gordiane, Venatus, Iulius Seremianus, Catilius Seuerus, Frontinus,

Taci<sup>3</sup>

Tacitus, and Aurelian, honourable Senators, and our trusty counsaylours : and Sabinus whyche lytteth here with vs : haue they not right well shewed them selues to be apte unto gouernance, whan they haue ben Consuls, Tribunes, and Pretors: yet be they no lawyers, but the more part of them be studious in philosophy, and other lyberall sciences.

¶ And nowe to make an ende of this matter, wherin I haue taryed the lenger, to the intente that I wolde extirpate thisayne oppynyon, whiche men haue had agaynst philosophers and theym that be studyouse. Trewly that whiche ye do note in Sextilius to be littell husbandry and small prouision, procedeth not by lacke of good policie, as ye haue supposed, but he advisedly doth neglecte to be riche or to aspire to any authoritie by ambition or flattery, preferring temperate and sure quietnes, before daungerouse and vnthankfull labours, and more estemeth to be an honest lyuer, than a malapert cramer. Also by his study in philosophy it seemeth that he hath acquired a great magnanimitie or noble courage, not extentyng the force of his wyt and knowlege in thynges whiche are but of lyttel importance: wherin he fareth like to the puissaunte grehounde, whiche was sente to the great Alexander by the kyng of Albany: vnto whom whan there was brought a gret but he therfore wold not ones meue, afterwarde a myghty and fierce lyon, was lyke wise shewed to hym, whiche he onelye behelde and moued his caple, but he wold not therfore aryste oute of his place. Finally there was brought forth a meruaylous great olysfant: than stode he on his feete, and dyd settis vpp his bystelles, and shewed his teethe, and beynge

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comforted by Alexander, he lepte to the olysant, and  
byt hym, and after a fewe assaultes kylled hym. Likewise  
Sertilius beinge contente with his astate, exten-  
deth not his wytte to augmente it: but if he be fauou-  
rably called to thynges of greater importance, and  
therin well comforted, I doubt not but that he wyll  
shewe, that his studi hath not ben vaynely employed.  
I meruayle that ye doo not consyder, that authoritie  
and fauour not onely sheweth a good wytte, but also  
doth polishe that whiche is rude. Fullars, taplours,  
hōzsekepers, and marinars, were by the Emperour  
Commodus, and my predecessor Heliogabalus, ad-  
uanced to be Consules, P̄t̄tores, and Tribunes, whi-  
che as I herde saye were so chaunged in their wyttes,  
that it seemed vnto them which knew them before, that  
sayng theyr visage, and personage, they were alte-  
red and made other men, so moch in theyr wordes and  
procedinges they excelled aboue their accustomed wit-  
tes, all mennes expectation. Howe moche more hope  
is there of those men, whiche by education and studie  
haue theyr wyttes holpen. Suppose ye not, that there  
be within our empire thousandes of men, whiche be-  
inge but of meane reputation, if they were set in auto-  
ritie, or about our persone, wolde set forthe noble wit-  
tes equall to yours, and perhaunce better (whiche I  
speake not displeasantly, but onely to warne you to es-  
chewe arrogance) Truly god gyueth wisedome, but  
fauour and authoritie mooste chiefly sheweth it in a  
weale publyke. Erthe nourisheth the roote of the tree,  
but the comfortable sunne byngeth forthe the blosso-  
mes, and if stormes do not lette, he with his holsome  
heatē ryppeth the fruite, and maketh it pleasante. In  
lyke

lyke wylle studye and labourt bryngeth in knowledge; whiche by the comfoore of pypnes appereth abrode in some ministracion. And if enuy or displeasure bryngeth none impediment: the increas of fauour maketh leynge fruitlell and profitable vnto the weale publyke. ye all here my sentence. And soz as moche as the more parte of you (as I well do perceyue) esteme noo lass Hertilius Rufus than I doo. I wyll that he besente soz, and receyued into the Senate, and his name registered in the table of Senatours. wher vnto at the counsayle accordançyng, it was soz that tyme dissolued.

Chiche Hertilius herpnyng that he was made Preitor, seld.  
And what the Emperour sayde concerning  
that matter. Cap. xxxv.



AFTER THAT it was declared vnto the Senate, that the Emperour had chosen Hertilius Rufus to be a Senatour, and what he had sayde on his behalfe, they all rejoiced in the Emperours wyldeome and judgement, and at his nexte comynge into the senate they all dyd a-  
ctye and gaue thankes vnto hym, soz bryngynghe into  
that college suche a man as Hertilius was. Done af-  
ter Hertilius beinge sent soz by the Emperours most  
gentyl letters, came into the senate, and as his leyning  
and honeste maners required, was beloued and com-  
mended of all men excepte very fewe, whom enuy and  
pypnate displeasure contynuallye freyd: whiche the  
wylle emperour perceywinge, to the intent as well that  
the vertues of Hertilius shulde be more knownen, and  
also be increased by his comfortable assistance, as also  
to

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to manyfeste to the comfofte of other, howe moche he was inflamed in the fauour of vertue and doctryne, he caused Sertilius to be chosen P<sup>r</sup>etor, whiche than was the highest office next to the emperour, in the ministracion of Justice. Therof herynge Sertilius, he beinge therat abasshed and meruaylouse sorowefull, priuile withd<sup>r</sup>ue hym selfe out of the citie: & not makinge longe abode at his owne house, in a straunge habite, hauynge but one man with hym, wente vnto Athenes, determinyng to passe his time there in studie, vntyll the fame of hym were somewhat decreased, and an other chosen vnto that office. Of this the aduersaries of Sertilius gathered noo lyttell occasyon, not onely to pursewe hym with mockes and derisyon, but also to accuse hym vnto the emperour of dysobedience and obstinacy contrary to his allegiaunce, and also to blame hym for his departure, without as kyng lycence. All these accusations the Emperour herde withoute beinge any thyng meued agaynst Sertilius, and at the laste beholdynge the accusers with a dyspleasant countenance, he saide vnto them as hereafter foloweth.

**C**howe dare ye, thus p<sup>r</sup>esumptuously assaulte oure pacience with your false accusations: O; how may ye for shame poure out your malice thus in our p<sup>r</sup>esencer: What giueth you boldnesse to be thus malapert in attempting our reason with your eniuious persuasions: Thynke ye vs to be so dull and grosse witted, that we can not perceyue your cōspiracie: o; so deafe, that we can not here your false rumours, which ye haue sprad of Sertilius: o; so blynde, that we see not your cankered affections and passions sparklyng in your eyes, infla-

inflaniyng your bysage, blasting out with your wordes, whiche for angre and hastre, be so set out of order, that in them do appete your detestable folys. I tell you, Sertilius by this his departryng, hath nothing offendid vs, or mynished the opinion that we haue had of hym, but hath augmented it, and right wel contented vs. So if envy and malice hath not made you forgetfull, ye may rememb're, that whan we chasse hym to be a senatour, one thyng wherin we comended hym was, that he neglected to be rich, or to aspire to authoritie, se ye not howe he hath confirmed my saying, and that I spake it not for special affection: he hath not onely neglected authoritie, but that more is, he is flesdye from it, whan it came to warde hym. Whan we sent for him, he came vnto vs, and beinge appoynted to be a senatour, he dyd obeye vs, and gladly applyed his studye and counsaille thereto pertaining: onely herting that he was chosen Preter, before that he had monition therof, he flesdye, as if he had ben pursued with such forze, as he had not ben able to flyue with, fearynge (as I sayde, whan I praysed him) the daungerous and unthankfull labours, whiche he supposed to be in suche offices. And whither or to whome is he fled: not to the Persians, not to the people of Barbary, or other our enneimys: but he is peafibly gone vnto Athenes, whiche the citie next vnto Rome we mosle fauour. And there in a priuate habite, he lyueth in studye, in that exercysc whiche he supposeth that he can better susteyne, than the gouernance of a weale publyke. But not withstan dynge, shal we herefore relect hym & judge him unwoorthy to be called to authoritie? Nay, than were we yll aduysed, and mought be noted barbare in our opp-

nyon, sens we iudged hym ones hable for neglectyng  
therof, we now deme hym more hable for the refusyng:  
me we wyll be therfore more slacke in the offryng. ye  
we alsoo wyll thereto gentilly require hym. For certe-  
ly authurite ought to be gyuen to suche as careth leste  
for it, & kept from them, whiche please fastest toward  
it. For he that desyreteth, wold haue it for his only com-  
moditie: he that loketh not for it, consydereth that he  
is chosen for others necessitie. Therfore howe dyuers  
is their mynistratioun, it euer appereth, where as bothe  
hapmeth. Leaue your bayne enterprike, to bryng vs in  
dyspleasure with hym, who is worthye more honout  
than we can gyue hym, and by his lawdable flyghte  
hath vanquished your enuy, & to your great reproche  
hath publyshed your folys. We therfore command you  
to auoyde out of our presence, and that we see you not,  
vntyll we calle for you.

**C** The letters of thempour Alexander sent to Sertilius, and  
howe swynglyngly he retourned to Rome, and res-  
cued the offce of Prostor. Cap. xxxvi.



OR THVVITH the empetur hym self  
indited letters vnto Sertilius, in maner  
folowyng. Alexander Augustus. &c.  
The tydinges of your sodayn departing,  
honourable Sertilius, was to the senate  
and people greateouse, to your enemies (although they  
be fewe) pleasant and iopouse, dolojous to your fren-  
des, of whom there be many, but to vs not straunge,  
dyspleasant, nor meruaylous. for as moche as we ion-  
ger haue knownen your notable temperaunce, than we  
haue vsed your presence. Wherefore now we more con-  
syder

syder your humblitie and vertuouse shamefastnesse, than that whiche your enemies do call obstinacye and dysobedience. Perswade now to your selfe, that whiche before we dyd fauour you, now we do we moste hardlye loue you, and haue no lasse ardant desyre to haue the ieiuation of your vertue & lernyng, than hath the true louer of his wyfe or companyou. What such loue is, ye that haue ben at Socrates banker, do knowe most certapnely. Retourne therfore with honour gentylle **Sextilius**, satisfy the desyre of me, that am both your emperour and louer, rejoyce the senate & people, shame your enimis, and recomfort your freudes. Let it suffyce vnto shamefastnesse, that she hath caused you to be vntarde, not only your estimation & credence, but also your lyfe & substance, yf there had ben a senate vncitcumspex a people disordred, or an emperour a tyrant. Let her now gyue place to prudence & magnanimitie, her tyme of rule is expired in you, theirs is now come, for diuine prouidence hath so prouided, as wylleth it be so, sens she hath called you to the dignitie, whiche ye wel haue deserued. In bryn were your longe trauaile in study and lernyng, yf actuall experiance dydde not shewe forth their frutes. I confesse, that the booke, whiche ye haue made, haue wel instructed other to governance: but yet whan the publike weale calleth you, to be redy in your owne person to serue her, it is your chiefe office and dutie. For so god hath ordeyned you, nature commaundeth you, your countrey compelleth you, and philosophy beadeth you. Retourne therfore hardily, and accept with good courage and thankfulliye the rewarde of your vertue. Se the imployment shall be strange vnto you, that in study haue had with

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Justice such familiaritie, and haue rad so many bakes of good polycie. Also (which ought moch to comfort you) ye haue a fauourable emperour, experte assistentes, diligent ministers, and people obedient, ye beinge Dixer, howe many men expert in that office shal desyre your company, and be glad to participate with you that whyche experiance or custome hath vsurped from lernynge? Where law ciuile is necessary, among your assistentes shall euer be some, whiche therin shall counsayle you, but fynally yf ye haue alwaye respecte vnto iustyce, and consyder the causes with a prudente and dyligent scrutinie, the great knowlege of the lawe ciuile shall not moche trouble you. Laye therfore all dreade apart, and be not sene for fayntnes of courage to forsake that, whyche the Emperour, Senate, and people, lordes of the worlde, haue with so great affection and iudgement prepared for you. Take heede of your helth, and let vs shortly imbrace you.

These letters were sent by poste, and in shor tyme deluyered to ~~Sextilius~~, than beinge at Athenes in the house of ~~Sext?~~ Cheroneis, with oþer philosophers: whiche he receiuing with reuerence opened and radde, and in the readyng of them, partly stered with the luyng perswasions of the most noble emperour, partly oppressed with dolour, seinge that he inought make no longer defence agaynst his election, and that he muste nedes entre the daungerouse rase of aucthoritie ryght full of peryls, he let the salte teares tryll downe by his chekes. But whan they that were presente vnderstode why that he shewed such countenaunce, contrary wylle they reioyced exceedingly, as wel at the wonderfull wylldome of the yonge emperour, as that the vertue

vertue and leynynge of **Sextilius** was in conclusyon so well consydered, calyng Rome a citie most blessed, that shulde haue suche a **P̄xtor**: And withone consent they so pleased on **Sextilius** with iuincible argumētes, that he accorded to retourne towarde Rome, and to receyue the sayde offyce. Not withstandyng after that he hadde syt a good space without speakyng, he abrayded out at the laste, and complapnyd hym in this wyse.

**C**o what myserable astate shall I nowe come to: wherin diligence shall be cause of displeasure, negligence of reproche, shartnesse shall be dreadful, p̄tie vnhankfull, familiaritie suspiciose, frenshyp dangerous, every mannes countenaunce pleasaunt, many inemmes myndes offended, flatteryng openly, dysdaynyng secretelye, agaynst my commynge attendance, in presence moche courtesy, beinge out of office or fauour, lacke of acquaintance. But of force I must obey that the emperours commandeth, and yet he commandeth not, but moste gentilly allureth, wherto my frendes also consenten, & reason determineth. I therfore commyte all vnto god, who with his prouidence al thyng disposeth.

**C**and so he departed, and in shorte space arryued at Rome, where with many noble **Senatours**, and the chiefe of the people he was gladly receiued. Many other wise and wel lerned menne did this noble prince electe, and moste gentilly invite vnto the ministracion of the weale publyke, by occasion wherof oppression, extortion, bribery, and other corruption of justice, were out of the citie of Rome duringe this emperours lyfe, bitterly exterminate.

A notable question mened by Iulius Paetus unto the Emperour Alexander. And the wise answere whiche he thereto made. Cap. xviii.

**H**E H A V E herde before what austerrite and sharpenesse in punishment the Emperour Alexander vsed towarde all them, whiche by any maner corruption gaue vntrue sentences. Semblably agaynst theues, and oppresoures of people he was noo lasse rigourose, punyshyng them sharply and openly, without remission oþ hope of pardon: touchyng treason he dyd never alter oþ adde any chyng to the punishmentes whiche were afore ordyned: And in conspiracies against his owne persone, he often tymes suspended his sentence oþ deferred execution, as well to trye out the counsayles and practises of the offendours, as the syghte occasion of theyþ displeasures: also whether theyþ natures were obstatte oþ prouide, asptringe unto supremacie: oþ if they were mylde and easie, and seemed to be incensed thereto by the prouocation of other. and dyuerse suche, some he pardoned, and with moste gentyll persuasions not onely reduced them to due obedience, but also bounde theyþ hartes to hym in a perfyte allegiaunce. some he caused for a tymie to susteyne impysonement oþ exple. and as he founde them repenant, so dydde he relieue them. In theyþ exile it was punishment of death, to gyue to them any thyng, but meate and drinke, and that but course and of smal quantite, also to be in their company lenger than they brought them meate, oþ to speake with them, oþ to recepue letters of them: so that they lyued alone amonge people, in a prison inclosed, and

and in a common resorte in mosie paynefull solytude. He had not withstandyng in those places of exile some trusty persons abydyng, who marked in what fourme they sussteyned that punisshemente, whethcr they were very repentaunte or sturdy, and accordyngc to suche mennes intimation, he caused the exile to be shoxter or lenger. And here aboute he was very curyouse and diligente.

¶ On a tyme Julius Paulus a noble counsaylour, meruaylyng that the empetour was so pirusl toward them, whiche offended his person, beinge so rigozouse agaynst all oþer transgressours, he syndyng the emperour at leysoure, sayde vnto hym in this wise: *Sit if it shall stande with your pleasure, I wolde be fayne satisfied, in a thyng, which causeth me to moche wonder at you. Speake on (sayde the Emperour.)* sayd Paulus, In al the tyme that I haue serued your maiestie, I haue considered, that your proper nature is mylde, facile, gentyll, and mylty, and therwith adourned with incomparabile pacpnce and constancie. Wherefore whanne I beholde you in publyke oþer ciuile matters alway so bent to the rigour of iustice, that ye wyl pardone none execution, the offendours being iustly condemned: yet in transgressions agaynst your maiestie, be they never so grevous and lesfull proved, ye often tyme do gyue your most gracious pardon, and sometyme vnaþed. And some haue I knownen, whiche haue ben condemned for committynge actes agaynst theyþ allegiance, to whom ye not onelie remyd your graces displeasure, but also receyued them familiarly, and entayned them with great libertalitie, as *Antonius Camillus*, who by secret meanes aspited to the impe-

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imperiall maiestie, whan he was therfore broughte afore the senate all tremblyng, his conscience disclosing his tresvace, ye gyuyng to hym thankes, that he wil- lyngly wold take on hym the charge of the weale pub- lyke, which other good men refused whan it was pro- fered, and callynge hym copartenet of the empire, led hym from the Senate vnto your palayce, and caused hym to sytte with you at supper, in moxe ryghter appa- rayle than ye ware at that tyme, with moche other be- neuolence shewed vnto him at your goinge in warres towarde Persia. This thyng maketh me and many other to meruaple. Wherefore the causis which herewin- to moueth you, I am moxe desyrouse to knowe, whi- che by myne owne wyte I canne not determinye. And many other as wel as I, be therwith perplesed. I ther- fore moxe humbly beseeche your maiestie, that by your owne mouthe it maye be resolued.

**C** The emperour after a lyttell pause, thervnto an- swered: Truly Paulus we be nothyng offendred with your demaunde, but at ryght wel contented to declare vnto you and other men of lyke wylsdome, the reason and cause that doth meue vs to do any thyng in oure office imperiall, that therby we may exclude all yll sus- pition, and approue our beneuolenc toward the weale publike. Albeit yf ye had sene as moch of philosophy as ye haue done of the lawes ciuile, ye shuld not haue had nede to haue made this demaunde. But nowe to your question, ye muste confesse Paulus, that in our person be two states or condicions: one by nature co- mune with other men, the other by election ppyuate it from the people excepted. In the fyre we be resembled to brastis, for the affections and passions, wherin we

com-

communycate with them. In the other we be lyke unto goddis immortall, in supreme dignicie excellyng all other men, which is to vs hapned, and not in generate, by the prerogative of vertue, whiche is supposed to be more excellent in vs: which vertue is none other thing but disposition, and exterior acte of the mynde agreeable to reason, and the moderation of nature. The supreme dignicie that we haue receyued is onely in gouernance of men, whiche do participate with vs in Nature, wherin they alway remayne equall with vs, but by Reason they be made inferior unto vs, for they supposyng it to be more abundantly gyuen vs, haue therfore wyllyngly submittid them selfe unto our gouernance. And what that gouernance oughte to be, our names of dignicie, whiche the people hath gyuen vs, do expresse it sufficently. For they gaue to vs first the surnames of Cesar & Augustus, for remembrance of the prowesse of the one, and the wisedome of the other, whiche lyke as they desyred, so they trusted to be abundantly in vs. They cal vs also Emperour. Whiche dignicie amonge the auncient Romayns consisted in the principall gouernance of hostes and armies, not onely in leading them unto warres (whiche was also the office of a duke) but also to see them euer well exercised, kepyng alway and in euerye place good order and iustyce. Moreouer the senate and people haue gyuen vs a name excellyng al other in honour and dignite, calling vs Father of their countrey. May there be tmygned any name greater or higher? For where ye haue wytlaufe lyberally to consecrate many of our progenitours, and callynge them goddis, haue made them equall one to an other. Onely Jupiter, whom

Habitus  
contem  
platius  
& prae  
cuss.

Imperi  
or.

Dux.

Pater p<sup>re</sup>  
trix.

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Opheus doth call lyfe, you and your progenytours  
hauē called father, as it were by a spetiall preroga-  
tive abouē all other, which name is agreeable unto his  
proprietie. For of lyfe all thynges haue being and me-  
uyng, whiche acte of creation, or (more naturally to  
speke it) generation, is incident to the name of father.  
lyke as also his office is to preserue and kepe safe that  
which he him selfe hath engendred. Consyderyng how  
inestimable an office and dignitie are included in that  
divine and moste reverende name of father, makinge  
me therby the mortall ymage of the lyving god: howe  
circumspect ought I to be, that I do nothing vntoward  
thys name so lyberallpe gauen me. Ye knowe well  
Paulus, that in mens chyldezen be dyuers and fundyng  
dispositions, some be apt of their nature to vertue and  
towardnesse, some haue not nature so prompt and be-  
nevolent, wherfore they must be by education therunto  
to forme: some be quycke of wytte, some dulle in ca-  
pacite. of Sharpe wyttes, some moste do resplendysche  
in actes that be honeste, other seme quyckell in malyce  
and shewdnes. The good and diligent father of eue-  
ryche of them is equally carefull, and assayeth syghte  
by education to make them all conformable vnto his  
appetite. And therfore at the syghte with swete meates  
and prayng gyftes he allureth them all for to loue hym,  
and where they offend (as none or els verye fewe are  
perfyte in vertue) correctyng them with a lytel Sharpe  
towde, he maketh them also to feare hym. And if he  
beatē a shewnde boy, it is done as well to put other in  
feare to offend, as to make hym amende. And some-  
tyme the father to restrayne the prompte disposition  
that he seeth in his chyldezen to vicious qualites, doth

ad dicat

abdicat no[n]e and than done, that is to saye, putteth them out of his familiye, and clerely excludeth them from any hope of inheritaunce. Somtyme percepynge their shewdnes to reasse, yf any transgresseth agynst hym selfe onely, cythet he correcteth hym moderatly, or by a wyle and gentyl perswasion, assayeth to induc hym to knowe wel his duetie, and to plucke from hym opinion of a fals libertie. Xerte unto god, who is so great a fater, as he which is fater of a hole countrey, that is to say, fater of them that be fathers, their chil- dren and faunly. Howe moche than ought the care of hym, excede farre the cares of all other & the charitie of hym, the loue of all other & the wisedome of hym, the prudencie of other. The studious fater moche ca- reth howe to bryng up his childefn in honestie, than howe to loue pleasantly. The louing fater hath moche solacitude aboure his chylderns helth, than about his owne welthe. The wyle fater moche considereth, what his sonne shall be in the estimation of other men, than howe he maye content his syngulare affection. I haue shewed to you the office of a private fater. What wyl ye no[n]e say to me, that in office am the bnyuersall fa- ther of all the hole countrey, wyl ye say, that I shuld haue lasse care, lasse loue, or lasse wisedome and prudencie. I suppose no, I knowe therin your opinion suffi- ciency. Than take good heede what I saye. The ri- gour of Justyce, whiche ye seeme to note in me, in pun- ishyng offenders against the weale publike, is but a forme of discipline, conuenient and necessary, ha[ving] regarde to such chyldren as I found in this citie, cor- rupted with al kyndes of vpee, and ha[ving] their myn- des and myttes all disposed to foly, whiche beinge a

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general detriment, I haue vsed therin a moze sharper  
remedy: and therfore consequently it hath ben founde  
the moze conuenient and spedie.

**C**h in offences touchyng our onely persone, we haue  
descended in our mynde from the impetall maiestye,  
and considered our fyrt astate left vs by nature, wher  
in lokyng as in a myrtour, we beholde the same mat-  
ter that oþer men be of, and therin the sedes of sundry  
affections. this causeth vs where we fynde hope of a-  
mendment, in lamentyng the mystry of mankynde, to  
be meued with a fatherlye ptye, and moche lasse este-  
myng the daungier of our persone onely, than of the  
hole countrey. We endeuour vs by mercy and gentyl-  
nes, to restoore that vnkynde chylde, whiche hath offen-  
ded vs, eststones to his brethern & company. Not with  
standyng yf he be so malicious and arrogant, that he  
wyll not cease to abuse our pacynce, we than refuse  
hym to be our chylde, and as an enmye unto the weale  
publike (so so be all that intendeth hostyltie agaynst  
hym, whiche is heed and father thereof) we commyte  
hym to the senate and people, so his malyce and trea-  
son to be iustly condemned. And thus doinge, we ac-  
complyshe all the partes of a father: and kepyng the  
people in a moderate feare and good order, we execute  
the offyce of a good emperour.

**C**thus haue ye þaulus a iust accownt of our my-  
nistracion, I wote not howe it contenteth you, sure I  
am that myn owne conscience therin was never offend-  
ed, no; the publyke weale greued, no; any good man  
therby oppressed, wherof I haue the senate and peo-  
ple my wytnesse, and hym onely my iudge, who being  
in heauen, fayleth not to punysh all them that abuse  
his

his pimage.

Herewith Julius Paulus seemed to be satisfied, & moste humbly thankynge the emperour, and mercu-  
lynge at his greatt wylledome and tempestaunce, for  
that tyme departed.

¶ Of a great exclamation made agaynst a gentill man called Marcus  
Geminus by his libertines. And the oration of Junius Modus-  
tus, made in the Senate. Cap. xxviii.

**I**KE wylle as this Emperour Alexander  
was rigourose and terrible to corrupt iu-  
ges and oppresours of justice, so was he  
moste fauorable and bounteouse unto all  
suche as were sincere in their ministrations and sup-  
porters of equite. On a tyme as he went to warde the  
Senate, there came agaynst hym a greate numbre of  
persones, homely appatayled and of a rude presence,  
whiche as the Emperour approched them, they felle  
downe on their knees, and in a moste lamentable forme  
with one confuse cry accusid a gentilman called Ma-  
rus Geminus of oppression, & to bring hym more into  
displeasure and envy, they added to their complaunt,  
that he was one of them that cōspired with Onintus  
Camillus. The Emperour herd them, and diligently  
marked their gesture and countenaunce, wherin he  
perceyued to be more rankour than dolour, more stur-  
dynes than humble shamefastnes, more obstinate cru-  
elty, than reason or honeste: He than asked of them,  
what people they were. They aunswerten, sayeng: that  
they were husbondmen of Campanta. He comanded  
them to withdraw them vntill they were sent for, and  
shewynge to them a ryght gentyl wylde, he passed.

from theym. The peple receyuyng a more arrogante counteage, of the comfortable countenance, whiche it seemed that the Emperour made to them at their departing, leauing for the whyle their counterfayte sorowes, they spent the dayes in tauernes and bytaylyng houses, the nightes in places of bawdry, promising unto theym selues victory against Geminus, adding thereto with mooste despitefull arrogance, that his tormentes and deeth shuld be a dreadfull example to gentill men, and that from thenseforthe their plough men and tenauntes shuld be felowlike with them. Which metuacis and bostynge were soone after reported unto the Emperour: But first as soone as he was come to the Senate, he shewed there al that was hapned, and than he demaunded the Senatoures, if any of theym knew Marcus Geminus. Divers of theym aunswere in oþre, that they knew hym well, and that he hadde ben alway reputed a man of moche honesty, and having a competent lyving for his degree, had euer lived therewith temperately, withoute note of reproche unto this tyme. Herewith as the Emperour satte maruaylyng at the fury of the said clamorous people, and the commendation gyuen to Marcus Geminus, an auncient Senatour named Junius Moderatus, who was reputed to be a man of greatteworshyp, and was of the age of one hundred yeres, or there aboue, dyd stande up on his feete, and sayd in this wyse.

**The oration of Junius Moderatus.** Moste noble Emperour, all be it that I am not ex-  
quited, no; do now intende to take on me the defensio-  
n of Marcus Geminus, with whome I haue no maner  
acquayntance, yet to thintent that your most gentill &  
pitie

pitifull hart tempred with iustyce, shuld be no lengas  
perplexid, as it apperethe to be by your countenaunce.  
I wyl by remembryng your maiesty of the generall  
state and condicione of them, whiche haue compla-  
ined on Marcus Geminus, in some part (I truste) re-  
solute the importaunce of your admiration and studie.

¶ Ye do well perceyue, that the complayneth be al of  
Campania, a countrey most plenteous of all thynge  
that the erthe may bringe forthe, and therwith so fer-  
tile, that it dothe not require greate toyle or laboure,  
but onely good diligence in obseruing the oportunity  
of tymes in sowyng & planting, with the preseruation  
of the thinges whiles they be growyng. with this fet-  
tishe, the bodies do become fat and lusty, and therby  
are made ill disposid to laboure, the whiche disposition  
the goodnes of the soyle alway supporstith: therof pro-  
cedeth obstrinate Gurdines agaynst their superiours,  
and often tymes commotions and sodayn rebellions:  
and with great difficulte hath that people be broughte  
vnto a perfite obedience, whiche was after that they  
had rebellid agaynst the Romanes being confederate  
with Hannibal and the Carthaginensis: At the whiche  
tyme they being vanquisched by fulvius, many were  
slayne, the multitude were sold in bondage vnto the  
Romanes among whome the selues and possessions  
were at that tyme diuided. it dured a long tyme, that  
the Romanes being good husbondes them selues, o-  
uerring theire tyllage and husbondry, keppinge the  
Campanes in seruitude, boudaining them with con-  
tinual labours, fedinge and cloþing them moderatly,  
and moxe never to scasey, than superfluity, leving  
them no moxe vacacion from laboure than the festiwal  
dayes.

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Dayes, which the lawes haue appointed: the countrey abode in continuall quietnes, and iustice was there sufficienly ministred, by one onely magistrate, sente vnto them perely out of this city. There dwelid ~~Ha-~~ cerna, Cremillius, Julius Atticus, and diuerse other gentilmen, as well in hys bandye, as in other wyp- dome and policy noble and famouse, withoute exclamations vnto the Senate. Moreouer the gentylmen brought vp in that countrey, for their temperance in living, and prudenter gouerning of their owne famly, were often tymes electe into the senate, and esteemed alway for the best senatours. But after the subuertion of Carthage, and that al Greece and Asia were in our iurisdiction, Spaine made tributary, & Gallia brought vnder subiection, Idelnesse, with delicate appetite encreas to gyther into this citie, and so inoche abounded, that it was from thense distributed into al the hole region of Italy. And than the gentilmen of Campania, leste their ancient frugality and diligent gouernance, and dyd sette all their study, onely about thynges pleasant and dilectable, not being contented with the commodities of the same countrey, ne with the same mea- sure and quantity, whiche they before vsed, but with outragious expenses, sending into other countreyes far of, for other kyndes of thinges whiche they had not growynge, they vnsaciably fed therwith them selues and their seruantes, & contemnyng the exercise of hus- bandry, they negligently haue suffered their seruantes to be oppressed with gourmandise, and to reiecte their accustomed fare, and to haue it more delicate. Also to increase slepe and pastime, and to minishe their labours and diligence. Moreouer by priuate contentions a- monge

monge the same gentylmenne (whiche alway hapneth where temperance lacketh) by ambition and envy, they that were bondmen were instanchised and made libertynes, to the intent that their lordes wolde be sene pu-  
lliant of men, to maynteyn their quarelles: wherby it is hapned that the progeny of the sayde bondmen are now of suche sturdines, that they disdayne and take scoyne to be corrected, ne wyll otherwyse laboure than it shall lyke them. And if their lordes wyll sharplye call on them, they wyll not let, boldely to make resistance: and where they be not thereto suffycient, they wyl sub-  
syne some false quarell to make a comotion, trusing therby to robbe and destroy their lordes: or if they can not bryng that to passe, at the leste they wyll make iniuste exclamations, where they synde a pypnace, whome they suppose to haue his eates ope to tales & reportis, & wyll condamne in his opynion men complayned on, before pchance that he knoweth them. Herof haue we to many examples, as well in the tyme of Tyberius, Nero, and Domitiane, as in the tyme of my rememb-  
rance. Were not Julius Sillanus, and Antius Lupus, men of great honesty, condemned to dethe by the Emperour Comodus, vpon the false complayntes of their libertines: whiche grutched agaynst them, be-  
cause that Sillanus was a sterne man, and of the an-  
cient severytie. wheresoere they moughte not suspeyn hym, pumping them contynually so; their poell and wyttonys lypupage. Lupus because he wold not suffre his libertines to inchoche vpon his possessions, and to retayn certayn portions of lande, whiche after the dea-  
of Perillus Rufus his mothers hysle (whose heysle Lupus was) they had taken by felthe, whiles he was

Liberlines  
were of  
lyke con-  
ditions, as  
our coppe  
holders  
were of  
olde tyme.

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In Asia. wherfore they appeched hym vnto thempcioz; sayeng that he was of familiar counsayle with Caius Regilius, whom a lyttell before, Cominodus had put vnto deathe. Petronius in the tyme of Caracalla the emperour, was also put vnto dethe by a lyke occasion. And to speake of myne owne experiance, by the space of. xl. yeres, so longe I continued in kepyng of husbandry in the countrey of Umbria, hauing therin moche delectacion. I found the rustical people my neigbours prompte to iniurys, murmurynge at Justyce, grutchyng at labours, desyrous of pleasures, ingrate agaynst benefytes. At the fyfth I was with them famylia and homely, than founde I them alway catlyshe and sturdy. than agaynst myn owne nature I chaunged my copy, and became towardre them moze strange in contenaunce, moze rare in speakyng, moze selds in pardonyng, moze quycke in reuengyng suche iniurys as they wyllyngely dyd me. Moreouer I was more frequent in commandyng my lyberties, & wold my selfe se theym to do truely their seruices, nothynge amytyng: than had I lyttell and seldo me any occaſion to be offendred with. There was none iniurys offred me of my neyghbours, whiche beholdyng me so sharpe to my lyberties, and so rygorous in Justyce, feared to dysplease me. My lyberties forgettyng all pleasures, studyed with labour and diligencie to gette some prayse of me. Than conſidered I wel, that good dettours oftentymes spared, become yll payers, small iniurys oftentymes pardoned, maketh of neyghbours pernicious enemys. I ſetuaunt made malapert, myl tycke at his duetie, and labour by custome becometh easy, behold, that gentyl maisters haue alway prouide ſetuantes.

seruantes. And of a mayster sturdy and fierce, a lyttell  
wynke to his seruant is a featefull commanudement.  
The nature of libertines is moch contrariouse to that  
whiche is gentyll. The gentylman, gentilly intreated  
is contente to do all thyng: The byle nature, fam-  
lyarly vsed, gryudgeth at euery thyng. This is euerye  
day proued, but no witte can make streight whiche na-  
ture made crooked. Geminus is a gentylman of an old  
house of the latines, whose great graundfather Ru-  
bellitus Geminus was consul in the late dayes of the  
emperour Tiberius. He hath his possessions in Cam-  
pania (as I haue herde say) by an auncetour of his  
mother called Pomponius Hura. Perchance his no-  
meltie there may be disdayned, and the moueable peo-  
ple lackingyng somwhat of their wylles, may be comfo-  
ted by some of equall degree vnto Geminus, by their  
exclamations to bryng hym out of credence, and con-  
sequently vnto some ioperdy. Wherfore serueth the  
Prestor Triphonius, who is knowen to be a man very  
discrete, well lerned, and of a great iudgement: if they  
came to hym, why dyd he not here them? If he wolde  
not here them, why complayne they not of hym? If he  
dyd here them, why is Geminus left styl vnpunished?  
If he be punyshed, why is he eftsones accused? Whyn  
aduyse is mooste noble Emperour, that Marcus Ge-  
minus be hastily sent for, that he haue no leysure to so-  
licite the Prestor Triphonius: and that immedately  
afterward a letter be directed to the same Prestor, wyl-  
ling hym to aduertise your maiesty with al expedition,  
what may be proued in the ratification of suche arti-  
cles as bene objected in the accusation of Geminus:  
whiche proues beinge sente vp vnto vs, yf Geminus

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cannot resell them, than let the lawes of the citie pro-  
cede agaynst hym. If the suggestion be founde false  
and malcious, than shall your maestie do lyke a ver-  
tuous gouernour, and fater of the countreye, yf by  
your excellent wysdom and rule of justice, ye prouide  
that the fals accusers and their abettours may be so  
punyshed, that they and other persons of lyke inclina-  
tion, may be aferde to abuse your clemency and moste  
gentyll nature. And nowe hathe your maestie herde  
all myne opinion.

**C**his sentence contented the Emperour, who ther-  
fore commended the substancial wysdome & compendi-  
ous eloquence of the old Moderatus. And accordançyng  
thervnto was Geminus sent for by an officer, and sone  
after a letter was sente to Triphonius, accordançyng to  
the minute before rehersed: which was deliuereed to the  
Pretor, incontinent vpon the departing of Geminus.

**C**he wonderfull prudence and equitie shewed by Alexander  
the Emperour, in the determinacion and sentence  
in the matter precedinge. Cap. xxxiv.



**T**HE COININGE of Geminus to Rome,  
he was forthwith committed vnto Cat-  
lius the Senatour to be secretelype kepte,  
with comforthe gyuen vnto hym, that yf  
such thynges as he was accused of could  
not be proued by wytnesse or matter sufficient, his ac-  
cusation shulde be to hym an happye displeasure.

**C**In the meane tyme Triphonius the Pretor, whan  
he had radde the emperours letters, seacyng his ty-  
gorous iustice to rulers and iudges corrupted or ne-  
gligent, he forthwith sent vnto the mooste honest inhab-  
itan-

bi tauntes, not beinge gentylmen, whiche dwelled in  
to wnes and villages next adioyning to the habita-  
tion of Geminus: whom not beinge yet ware of the de-  
partyng of Geminus, no; so; what cause they were  
sent for, the Proeto; calling vnto hym one of them af-  
ter an other, he severally examyned theym, what they  
knew or supposed of Marcus Geminus, in what con-  
dition he vsed hym selfe, syste concernyng his fayth  
to the emperour senate and people of Rome, also in Ju-  
stice and equitie touchyng his neighbours, moreouer  
frugalitie and temperance in his owne family, finally  
in oppression and crueltie to hys tenauntes and lyber-  
tines. Addyng thervnto, that the emperours maiestie  
was informed, that Geminus in all the sayde poyntes  
was greuously noted, whiche being sufficiently pro-  
ued agaynst hym, his punyshement shulde be to all o-  
ther men a dredfull example, wherby poore men shuld  
afterwarde lyue in the more suretie, & out of the dan-  
ger of cruell affections. Every one that was examyn-  
ed aparte, frely without alteration of wordes, affir-  
med, that Geminus was a man of great honesty, & that  
they dyd never suspect his fayth of allegiaice, although  
he repaireth sometyme to Oninius, whan he soiorned  
nigh to hym, which he seemed rather to do for the hono-  
ring of Oninius dignitie, thā for any special affection  
that he had towarde hym, considering that they were  
most unlike of conditions. For Oninius was proude,  
ambicious, and prodigall: Geminus was gentyll,  
moderate in living, and temperate in spendyng. The  
other was almosste ignorant of lettres, delyting in ri-  
ote and lechery: this man well lerned, and having his  
principall pleasure in redyng or wryting. So diuerse

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conditions coulde never ioyne hattes in a seruent affection. Moreouer they coulde never perceyue, that Geminus at any tyme preyled Oninius, otherwys than is the general prayse gyuen to men in authority, calling hym honoorable. Concerning iustyce and equyte, they sayd that therin he was euer founde notably erueste, in soo moche as by keppynge his promise and couch, he susteyned often tynies no little detriment. Also he remitted oftentimes a good parte of his duety, which the lawes gaue hym, sometyme of gentylnesse, sometyme meuid with the persons necessity. The me- surable fare and good ordre of his family, was to all his neyghbours an excellent patern. To his tenantes & libertines at his first commyng he was of moch as- fabilitie, but after that he had perceyued by the aunci- ent tables and minumetes belonging vnto his patri- mony, that his libertines had withdrawen some parte of their seruices, and craftily entrelaced his domini- cal landes with their seruile possessions, he first assaid to perswade them to restore vnto hym his inheritance, offring to remytte vnto them their wrongfull intrusi- ons, with all the profites which they had therof recey- ued, if they wold willingly depart from that which by justice they mought not kepe from hym: but they little regarding his honest reueste, obstinately denied to leue the possession of those landes, whiche they had so long occupied, and became in all their actes towarde hym stourdy and malapert, wherwith being displea- santly meued, he with his household seruantes & fren- des expellid them from the possession of suche landes as they wrongfully occupied: wherewith they beinge exasperate, and desirous to be reuenged (supposyng that

that if they complained to the *Pretor*, the truth shortly appearing unto hym, they shuld no thing preuaile, but be soe euer excluded from their vniusit occupation) they conspiring to gyther went unto two gentilmen dwellyng hereby, the one called *Didilius*, the oþer *Cotta*, who alway had enuy at *Marcus Geminus*, & mought not susteine his commendation, but vsed to speke reprochfully of hym. whan they had herd what the libertines purposed, they exceedingly reioyced therat, and gaue to them not onely comfort in their procedinges, but also summes of money toward their charges, with secrete lettres vnto their frendes and acquaintance in the city of *Rome*, desiring them to assist and solycite the cause of the libertines. They said mozeouer, that there remained yet in the towne of *Geminus*, as well libertines as menne free of condition, his tenuantes, whiche beyng of a more honest nature, and perswaded at the first with the reasonable request of their lord, wold by no meanes consent vnto the conspiracy, notwithstandinge that they were there vnto pleased as wel by the sayd gentillmen as by the libertines. whiche persons they thought expedient to be also examined. That hering the *Pretor*, commanding their truthe and modesty, he depeched those deponentes soe that time, commaunding them to kepe al thinge secrete, and unmediatly he sent soe the sayd residue of the tenantes and libertines of *Marcus Geminus*, who beyng lyke wyse examined, in al and euery thinge agreed with the firste witnessses. Then *Triphonius* incontinent caused horses to be provided, and those persones without any lenger abode, to be conveyed to *Rome* with his lettres vnto the *Emperoure*, conteyninge

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wynng the true report of the sayde examinations. wher-  
che letters the Emperour readyng hym selfe, com-  
maunded that those men, whiche were come to the  
citie, shulde be forthwith brought to his presence, in  
moste secrete wyse, which was perfourmed. Than the  
Emperour calling to hym Alpianus, Catelius, Pau-  
lus, and Sabinus, who at that tyme were in the pa-  
layce, he commanded the sayde persons to be brought  
forthe, and hym selfe demaundinge lyke questions of  
them, as Triphonius had done, but in another order  
and facion, he found their wordes in every condition,  
lyke as they had deposid, saunge that they ther unto  
added, that the complaynois before their deparcyng,  
and after that they were come from Duilius and  
Cotta, had impropertately desired these menne to goo  
with them, saieng, that they nothing doubted, but that  
Geminus at the leste shuld lose his hed, and that they  
for their trauelles shulde haue his goodes, or a good  
parte therof deuided among them: and that Duilius  
and Cotta trusted to haue his landes by gyfte or by  
purchase. That hering the Emperour, with blysage  
inflamed, and eyes sparkelyng as fyre, baste oute in  
these wordes folowyng.

**T**o villayne nature bestiall and monstruouse. To  
cruell envy soule and malitious, the one neuuer van-  
quished with gentilnes, the other neuuer contented  
with vertue and sobernes. How often haue wyse men  
ben by suche falshode deluded, Emperoures, kynges,  
and other potentates by such serpentes abused, iustice  
oppreſſed, mercy skaundered, good people destroyed,  
false harlottes aduaunced? God forbyd that I shuld  
lyue Emperour of Rome, if I wolde not see this enor-  
mitie

myltye punished, whereby all publike weales may be shortly subuerted. for where ordre fayleth, obedience decayeth, boldenes increaseth, deceipt eschapeth, iniury p̄euaplethe, auarice corrupteth, the state of a weale publyke sone after perisheth. whan he had sayd thus: he comending the truthe and sincetitie of them, which had spoken, communded that they shulde remayne stil in his palace in a place secrete, vntyl it were his pleasure for to call for them. Then caused he to be publisched throughout the cite, that Marcus Geminus was likely shortly to be condemned. whiche being commen to the eates of his accusers, they replentished with ioy, comed abouthe the citie, imbracing their frendes and confederates, with mutuall congratulations, making bankettes one to another, for exceeding ioye for getting to slepe, but passed forth the nyghtes in drinkyng and syngyng, and deuising tourmentes for Marcus Geminus. Of all this herde the Emperour, who dissembled his angre, albeit he had no lasse solicitude, in providing the meanes how they; mischiefe and falshode mought be in suche wyse corrected, as good menne mought be free from suche perilles, and the example mought utterly drowne the malyce of wretches. As sone as Duilius and Cotta had herde of the brute of the condemnation of Geminus, with all spedē they bothe came vnto Rome, brynging with them greate presentes to gyue vnto such as were nyghe about the Emperoure, to thintente that they by their meanes mought attayne to the possessions of Geminus. But these noble men, vnto whome they offered to gyue the said presentes, refused to take them, scaryng chemp̄our's severitie. As sone as the Emperoure had herd

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of the commynge of Duillius and Cotta, he sente for them, and in the presence of dyuers Senarours, after that he had taken them by the handes, with a familiar countenaunce, he dissembled to them, that he was moche grieved with the vnykynenesse of Geminus, toward his persone, and also his oppresions and iniuries toward his libertines and tenantes. With that Duillius and Cotta being moche comforted towarde their purpose, to agrauate the complayntes agaynst Geminus, and seming to do well, dispayased the rigo-  
tous tytany of Geminus, and commended the simpli-  
citie of his lybertines, sayenge, that they wolde not so  
soone haue complayned on Geminus, yf they had not  
ben by them behemently styrred and prouoked thereto.

¶ After that the empereour had ben a while in a study, as it were to say some thyng against Geminus, at the last with a familiar visage, he sayde vnto theym: Ye haue knownen in how moch detestation I haue alway had the oppression of innocentes, the iniurys doone with extreme malyce and violence: And yet not with-  
standingy the sharpe corrections, whiche haue ben exe-  
cuted agaynst suche malefactours, as well by ancient  
lawes of this citie as by our owne decrees and ordyn-  
ances, yet as it semeth that pestylence in the weale  
publyke ceaseth not. Wherfore we nowe wolde, that  
some newe and straunge correction were deuysed for  
Geminus, whiche shulde be suche as to al men of eue-  
ry degree, it mought be the mooste fearefull example  
to offend in lyke condicion. And as touchyng the of-  
fence towarde me, I shall holde me contente with the  
iugement, whiche the lawes haue prouided. And moxe  
over, to thintent that men shall perceiue, howe moche  
we

we fauour them that do suppose trewe men agaynst  
tyrantes, I wolde that some rewarde were also deuy-  
sed for suche supporters, equall and conuenient vnto  
their merites. And herein wyll we syss here your sen-  
tences, soz as moche as ye do seme to be men of zeale,  
and are reported to be wylle men and polytike aboute  
your affaers. Wherefore we intend to haue of you bet-  
ter acquayntance, that the publike weale by you may  
be amended.

¶ These wordes of the Emperour, Duillius & Cot-  
ta toke to be all so; their benefyte, and thynking that  
they had good oportunitie, offred them toacheue their  
desyre, thynkyng that the more sharpe and vehement  
punyfhemēt they dyd deuyse so; Marcus Geminus,  
the better it shuld content the mynde of the emperour.  
Syss Duillius forgettynge hym selfe, with face all in-  
flamed with malice, declarid his sentence in this wise.  
Sozasmoch as the Emperour had referred the offence  
committed agaynst his maiestie, to the iudgement of  
the lawes civile, (albeit that suche punyfhemēt were  
insufficient so; such a traitour as Geminus was) con-  
cernynge his oppozition of innocentes, his correction  
mought be no lass than that he being al naked, shuld  
by his lyberties be syss of all whippes throughtout  
the citie of Rome with whippes full of ruelles called  
Scorpions, and afterward his nose & eates being cut  
of, so with reproches to be conuayde vnto the towne  
of his habitation, and there to be estesones whippes  
by all his lyberties: and from thens to be carped in-  
to the Iles called Hebrides, and never to retoune in-  
to Itaie: his chyldeyns also to be bannysched for euer  
out of that territori: restitucion also to be made to the

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lyberties of al that whiche was bereft them. As concerning the residue, they which were accusers of traitours and supporters of the same accusers, shuld haue diuided among them, the one halfe deale of their goodes and possessions: so that the one halfe therof shuld be to the accusers, the other halfe to the supporters of them, the other halfe deale of the hole shulde be confiscate to the emperours treasure. Cotta agreed in every thyng with Duilius, sauyng the deformynge of Geminus and banyshement of his children, sayenge, that therin was to greatte a visage of crueltie. In the disposition of the goodes and possessions, he added vñ to the sentence of Duilius, that if the accuser or sup- porter were a bondman or libertine, he shulde haue no parte of the possessions, but onely the fourthe parte of the mouables, in the residue he agred with Duilius. Whan they had spoken, the emperour and other that were with hym, semed to commende their zealous affe- ction, and the emperour syndyng occasion by the lack of tyne, and that his supper abode than soþ hym, dyd depart from them, sayinge that he wolde aduyse hym on their wyse counsailes, and lycenced them to depart with a familiar becke. Who being retourned to theyþ lodgynge, and sendyng soþ the lyberties and other of their acquayntaunce: after that they had declared what they had spoken, and how nigh the confusion of Geminus dyd approche, and what truste they had to entoye his goodes and possessions, there was made a- monge theym ioye without measure, with reuelle and bankestyng, so that the reporte therof came to the ea- res of the emperour, and of al the Senate, whiche re- mayned in a great expectation of the emperours iuge- ment.

ment. Afterwarde the emperour commanded his place of astate to be made redy in the Theatre of Pompey, and that the people of Rome shulde be summoned to be redy there the thirde day folowing. whiche was accomplished. And the emperour being set with his noble counsaylors with hym, he commanded that as wel the libertines, as Duilius and Cotta shulde prepare theym to the accusation of Geminus, who came into the place, bryngynge with them one Rutilius Lupus a subtylle Rhetorician, to be theyr aduocate. But Geminus onely trustyng on his owne conscience, refused to haue any other patron, than the true examination and iustyce of the emperour and other, whiche were his iudges. And the Emperour was therwith ryghte well contented, consyderyng that the tyme of the controuersye shulde be made therby the shorter.

¶ First Lupus began his oration with a great praze of the Emperours vertues, whiche the Emperour in no wyse susstainyng, but being therwith offendid, internellyd Lupus, and commanded hym to enter into his narration, and to declare immediately the state of the matter conteyned in the complayne of the libertines. Than Lupus being partly abashed, for as moch as his begynning was to make the emperour & herers benevolent toward the libertines, & to make the cause agaynst Geminus to seeme more greuous, he coldly entred into the matter, & generally obiectid agaist Marcus Geminus his familiar resort vnto Onnius Camillus before that he was detected of treason. And ther vnto he brought in for witnessis Duilli<sup>9</sup> & Cotta, whō he callid men of gret worship, Geminus speaking yet nothing, nor changinge his countenance. Duilius s:

Bb. iii

Cotta.

Cotta by to moch malice & couetyse, for gettyng them  
selues, pleased furth, and sayd, that they had oftentyme  
sene Geminus not only at souper with Oninius in  
the tyme of his conspiracy, but also talking familiarly  
& secretly with hym. Therewith the Emperour taking oc-  
casyon, demanded of them, what it was that Geminus  
spake to Oninius. They sayd, they wist not. for they  
stode farre from them, and mought not here them.  
The Emperour demaunded, if they dyd se whan Ge-  
minus came and departed. They aunswered, that for  
the more part they came before hym, and abode longe  
after hym. He asked more ouer, in what fourme Ge-  
minus departed from Oninius. They sayde, so; the  
more parte with no pleasant countenance of the one or  
the other. The Emperoure asked, if Geminus were  
desired by Oninius to come, or if he came to hym bn-  
sent for. They sayd, they could not remember, but that  
Oninius sent alway a seruaunt for Geminus. The  
Emperour demaunded, if he dyd likewyse with them.  
They aunswered, no. The Emperour immediately  
sent for Oninius, who being reconciled to the Empe-  
oure, was than in the Senate, and so; Carnilius his  
seruaunt, who had detected his treason: and in the  
meane tyme the Emperour turned hym unto Gemi-  
nus and sayd, that if he were the man, that he shewed  
to be, he wolde lasse esteme deth than the losse of hys  
credence, and that so; his parte he more esteemed the  
confession of truthe, than the auenging of his disple-  
asure. Wherefore he charged hym vpon the faythe  
of an honest man, to tell playnely, whereof was the  
communication betwene hym and Oninius. Gemi-  
nus answered, that the firsst accesse that he had to hym  
was

was voluntaray and vnsent for, onely to salute hym, bycause he was a Senatour, and in greate estimattion, not knowing any thyng of his traytorous affection: But perceiving his qualties, and natural appetites not to be agreeable to his opinion and study, he cesserred to come, vntil he was desired of Oninius, which as he after perceyued, was for his incommodity. For Oninius desired of hym a manticion place, whiche he had ioyning to the gardens of Nero, from the which he wold in no wise departe. All be it often and sundry tymes Oninius sent for hym, and as well by offyng greate summes of money and frndship, as sometime by menaces, he assayde to gette of hym the house, but last of all he thretned hym, that hauyng all thyng at commaundment, as he doubted not but that he shuld see it come to passe shortly, he wolde leaue hym neither house nor lise. With the whiche wordes Geminus sayde, that he was astonyed, and so departed with his displeasure. But yet not thinkinge, that Onintus intended any conspiracy, considering that he was allied vnto the Emperour, and was by hym aduaunced vnto greate riches. Thus ceassed Geminus to speake any more. And by that tyme Carnilius was comynen, who beyng demaunded, what acquayntance he hadde knowen to be betwene Oninius and Marcus Geminus: he aunswere, that he knew none acquaintance betwene them, but that often tymes he had herde Oninius his mayster saye to his secrete frndes, after that he had a longe tyme talked with Geminus, that he was a sturde and obstatinate persone, and wold not confourme hym to his requestes, concetnyng a house which he had npgh to the cpty, wherfore if he mought bryng a

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byng his purposes to passe, he wolde leaue hym neither house nor heed on his shoulders. The Emperour deuaunded, yf Geminus were any of them that Oninius counsailed with concerning his cōspiracy. Therat simlid Carnilius and said, that Oninius never had hym in so moch reputation, for he euer esteemed hym to be moche vnapt to any such practyse. Then came to Oninius, and the Emperour commaundynge hym, late downe by hym: And the Emperour as ked hym if he knewe Marcus Geminus. And he fearynge that he had complayned of hym, blushed, and sayde, that he coulde never fynde syndnesse in hym, and that his nature was ouerthwart and alway agaynst his desires. Wherefore he desyred the emperour not to gyue to moche credence vnto hym in such thinges as he complained of hym, other than touchyng the request made for his house in the citie, whiche he confessed to haue desired imþortunately, and for that cause onely had often tymes conuented hym whā he repaired into that countray. The emperour with that answere was wel contented, and demanded, if he had any better opinion of Duilius and Cotta. He sayde, that they were of a noþer sorte, and moþe confourmable vnto his appetite. Therat the emperour laughed in his hart (as he after declared vnto his familypars) markynge the folye as wel of Duilius and Cotta, as of Oninius Camillus, whiche vnwares had disclosed their secrete affections, and declared the innocēcy of Marcus Geminus. And lycencyng Oninius to returne to the Senate, he comanded Lupus to resort to the resydue of the accusacion of Geminus: who partly beinge disoyaged, with a weake eloquence alledged the iniurie and cruell oppression

possession of Geminus, extended unto his tenantes, taking from them their auncient possessions, and annexinge them to his dominicall landes. Therwith Geminus being somewhat meued, plainly denied that it were their auncient possessions, but affirmed that it were his proper dominical landes, which betwene the deth of his uncle and his entrie, they had uniuscely usurped and falsely concelyd. Wherefore not only he by the law mought iustly expulse them from that which they unlefully occupied, but also by their ingratitudo they had forfaicted their manumissions, and consequently the landes gyuen to them by his auncetours of good ryght ought to resorte ekisones to his possession. This heryng the emperour, he demaunded of the complaignantes of what state and condicione they were: They all confessed, to be the lyberties of Marcus Geminus, and that suchelandes as they had, were seruile, as so; the whiche they were bounden to certayn obseruances. But they plainly denied, that they had forfaicted any thyng, and with great exclamations, and out of order ctyed out on Geminus. Than commaunded the emperour, that the gentilmen and residue of the libertines and tenantes, sent by Triphonius, shulde be brought in, who being in likewise examined, declared openly the stealyng of Geminus dominicall landes, by the sayd lyberties, whiche were accusers, the concurrence of them to the distruption of Geminus, their priuie solicitation of other, the malicious suppozynge of Duilius and Cotta, with their secrete confederacies, and all other thynges as before they had shewed to the Emperour at home in his palacie: which as wel the accusers as Duilius and Cotta heryng dysclosed

CC con-

contrary to their expectations, they all were confounded, & in they; amased countenance sodein and silence, seemed to the emperour and al that were preser, to confess their vntruthe and malycie. And therewith Cotta fearing the emperours severitie, fel on his knees, and besought the emperour to pardon hym, and lydewyse desyzed Geminus to forgyue hym his malycie, confessyng all to be trewe, whiche was nowe spoken on his behalfe. Herewith the emperour was feruently styrred with displeasure towarde the accusers: after that he had spoken with the resydue of the ruges, he gaue sentence in this wyse.

**F**or as moche as it appiereth unto vs, that thou Marcus Geminus art innocent of that treason, whiche thy cruel libertines, with the supporation of Duillius and Cotta haue falsly accused the of, we declare the to be a true gentylman, loyall to the weale publike and maiesty imperiall, and denounce unto all menne, that none be so hardy to renew this suspicion, wherof thou arte purged. And for thy pacience, wysdom, and temperance, we deeme the worthy to be admitted into the college of Senatours. Than the emperour tourning hym to the lybertines sayd: Ye byllayn generation, full of pestiferous malycie, rude and most bestiall of nature, boyde of all courtesy, false and deceyptfull towarde your louerayne, cruel and vengeable agaist justyce and raison: For as moche as ye with all youte wyl and puissance haue indeuored your selfes by your fals accusation, not onely to haue brought to a shamefull deathe Marcus Geminus your naturall lord, a true and innocent gentylman, and a necessarie membre of the wele publyke, whiche if it had hapned, therof

shuld

shulde haue succeded vnto the weale publike, notable  
damage, & to our person perpetual reproche, & burden  
vnto our coscience: we therfore urge you al worthy no  
lesse to suffre thā **D**uilius one of your captayns gaue  
in his sentence at home in our palayce agaynst **M**arcus  
**G**eminus. that fyre pe shalbe whyppe through-  
out the citie with Scorpions, and than your noses &  
eates to be cut of, and so to be broughte into **C**ampa-  
**n**ia, and there to be ciftones whippēd in euery towne,  
and last of al, to be hanged in chaynes on high gybet-  
tes, as ye be. xvi. in number, in. xvi. of the greatest tow-  
nes of that countrey, and that your chyldren shall lose  
the priuilege of the manumissiō of you and your aun-  
cestours: and that none of your bloud be from hence-  
forth manumised by any **C**onsul or **P**reto. Moreouer  
all your possessions holly to remayne to **M**arcus **G**e-  
minus, your moueables by the cosense of **G**eminus,  
(whervnto we exhort hym) to be equally diuyded and  
gyuen to his other tenantes and lybettines, which re-  
fused to be consenting or party to your procedynges.  
¶ Then loked he on **D**uilius and **C**otta, and firste  
sayd to **D**uilius: Thou detestable serpente of villain  
progeny, whiche nature in the, neither mought be sub-  
dued with authoritie, nor altered with riches, for as  
muche as by envy onely thou hast maligned agenste  
**M**arcus **G**eminus, and with all thy power hast sup-  
ported his libertines, to accuse hym mooste falsely of  
reason; & more ouer thy selfe hast in such wise appachd  
hym, that in thine owne wōdēs it appereith that thou  
werc of a more familiarit resorte vnto **D**uilius than  
**G**eminus was, and by **G**eminus confession more con-  
formable vnto his appetyte, and what is declated by

Cc ii      those

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those wordes; but thou and Cotta were consentyng  
vnto the conspyracy: Thou shalt therefore receyue  
thine own iugement, which thou woldest haue gyuen  
on Marcus Geminus, that is to say, thou shalt be  
disgraced of al honour, and despoted of thy garmen-  
tes in the myddel of this ctyr: And from thense whip-  
ped with scorpions vnto the hygh way called Via Ap-  
pia, and from thense thou shalbe caried vnto Ta-  
rentum, and being there estones whipped, thou shalt  
be rendred with thy children in seruytude to Marcus  
Geminus. And al thy possessions to reynayne for euer  
to hym and his heires. And as to the Cotta, although  
that thou haste desyzed pardon, yet so; as moche as  
thou haste polluted the noble and aunciente bloude,  
wherof thou camest, imbracing villayne condicions,  
and chosing rather to be confederate with villayns  
and maliciose wretches, than to fauour vertue and  
tustycce, it were not expedient that thou sholdeste be  
so pardoned, that thou sholdeste clearely eskafe without  
punishment, specially considering, that thy nobility  
was a cause that Geminus was moche more suspec-  
ted, than if thou haddest not ioyned thy selfe with his  
libertines. Thou shalt therfore sustaine patte of thine  
owne iugement, whiche thou woldest haue gyuen on  
Geminus, that is to say, thou shalt forthwith lose all  
thy moueables, whiche also with the goodes of Duill-  
ius shalbe equally parted, the one halfe to be brought  
in to the commune treason, the other halfe to be gy-  
uen indifferently amoung those gentylmenne, whiche  
honestly haue declared vnto vs the innocency of Mar-  
cus Geminus. And as so; thy landes, durynge thy life  
to be confiscate, afterwarde to retourne to thyne he-  
res.

res. Moreover that thou thy selfe shalt never retayne  
into Campania, but remayne stille here in this citye,  
excepte we vpon other considerations hereafter me-  
uinge vs, shall clely pardon the.

**C**This was the ende of the Emperours sentence,  
wherewith all the people reioyced and cried with one  
voyce: happy is Rome, that hath such a gouernour,  
happy is the wold, that it hath such an emperour, but  
mosle happy be we that haue such a father. Lyue no-  
ble Alexander, for the goddes do fauour the, all prin-  
ces do the honour the, all ille menne do dxeade the, all  
good men loue the. Lyue and prosper mooste excellent  
Emperour.

**C**With these and other mosle ioyouse acclamations,  
the emperour issued out of the Theatre and departed  
towarde his palayce, hauing with hym Marcus Ge-  
minus, all the streetes beinge full of men wemen and  
children, castynge before hym innumerable roses and  
other sweete floures. The nexte daye was the Empe-  
tors iudgement putte in executyon, and Geminus  
admitted in to the Senate. This was the laste iuge-  
mente that the Emperour gaue openlye in his owne  
person, diuerse other iugementes he gaue, which were  
in tables according as other Emperours vsed to do.

**THITHER TO** is the reporte of Eucolpius: moche  
more he wrate, as it seemed, for diuerse quayres lacked  
in the booke. Wherfore to make some perfecte conclu-  
sion, I toke the residue out of other, which wrate also  
the lyfe of this Emperour.

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ERODIANVS a greeke authour, wri-  
teth, that the tourney made agaynst Ar-  
taterres the kyng of Persia, was loste  
through the slaknes of Alexander, whome  
he supposeth to be retayned from his en-  
terprise by his mother Mammea, who wold not lette  
her sonne leoparde his persone agynst the Persians :  
but Lampridius, who gathered his wroke out of the  
bookes of Accolius and Eucolptus, who were alway  
in company with the Emperour Alexander, wryteth  
in this wyse: He being such an Emperour in his house  
and abrode, he entreyssed the tourneye of Parthia,  
wher unto he prepared all thingis with such discipline  
and reuerence about his owne person, that it mought  
be sayde, that Senatours went and not souldiours.  
Wher so euer the host was, the chefe captaynes were  
circumspecte, the captaynes honest, the souldiours be-  
loued. And therfore the inhabytauntes of countreyes  
receyued hym as god. The menne of warre loued the  
pong emperour as their brother, their sonne, and their  
father. They were honestly cladde, conueniently ho-  
sed and shodde, rychely arm'd, very welle horssed with  
hatneyse & bydels accordingly tymmed, that he whi-  
che behelde the emperours array, shulde haue percep-  
ued the state of the weale publike. He hym self labored  
to be iudged worthye to haue the name of Alexander,  
and to surmount hym of Macedone. In suche tourneye  
he went into Persia, and vanquished king Artaterres,  
who came agaynst hym with seuen hundred elephan-  
tes, bearyng on their backes towres of woode full of  
archers and artyllery. Also a thousand and syue hun-  
dred chariottes armed with sythes, and people innu-  
merable

merable. And afterwarde Alexander retourned unto the citie of Antiochia, and with the praye that he tolde of the Persians, he made all his men of warre rythe. Then syssite began Persyanes to be slaves to the Germanynes. But bicausethat the kynges of Persia doo dysdayne, that any of thei people shall lyue in servitude, he was content, that they shulde be redemed, the money beinge gauen to them whiche toke them priuyners, beinge retourned to Rome, was conuayde unto his palayce with all the senatours gentylmen & people, the iuyues and chyldyn of his souldours enuy-  
counyng hym, and his triumphall charpot folowynge hym, being drawen with foute great elephantes. And entrynge into his palacie, he was lyft up with the han-  
des of the people, so that durynge the space of foute  
houres he mought not walke on his fete, at the people  
crienge aboue, Howe is Rome sause, for Alexander  
is safelie returned.

Afterward he lyued in moche tender loue of the pe-  
ople and Senate, but at the laste the Germanynes wa-  
king and destroyeng the countray, he being ashamed  
that the Parthians now being banquysshed, that na-  
tion sholde prease so nygh to the hed of the weale pub-  
like, whiche people were subdued by pettie emperours,  
he prepared his voyage towarde them, and departed  
against all mennes wylles, every man bryngynge  
hym a hundred and fifty myles on his waye, with  
hope of victow, and sone retурne to the ctry, but being  
in france, and syndyng the legions sedicione, he co-  
maded them to be reisected. By which occasion the fren-  
che mennes stomakes as they be alway obfinate and  
froward, and oftentymes displeaunt unto the Em-  
perours.

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perours, wolde not suffice any longer his rygorouse  
grauity. Wherefore certayn souldors, which were en-  
riched by Heliogabalus, by the consepte and ayde of  
that monstruouse muliettour Marcius, whome they  
made afterwarde Emperour, they sodeynly entraunge  
into the paullton of Alexander, flewe bothe hym and  
his mother, he nothing fearing their malice. Other o-  
pinions there be of his deth. Finally the rage of vn-  
chistly persons, which wrought not sustayne his excel-  
lent vertues, traiterously slew this most noble Em-  
perour: Whose deth all Rome lamented, al good men  
bewayled, all the woldre repented, whom the Senate  
deified, noble fame renoumed, al wyse men honoured,  
noble wryters commended. Whose lyfe maye worthi-  
ly be a paterne to knyghtes, an example to iudges, a  
myrour to pynces, a beautifull ymage to all theym  
that are lyke to be governours: whereby they may  
haue in continuall remembraunce, to imbrace and fo-  
lowe his moste excellent qualites.

\* FINIS. \*

MVSEVM  
BRITAN  
NICVM

SOLONDINI  
IN OFFICINA Thomæ Bertheceti  
typis impress.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimen-  
dum solum.

ANNO. M. D. XL.

